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For Spain, A Treasure Goes Out Of Sight

By Nathaniel C. Nash
New York Times Service

JAEN, Spain — Shoppers looking for extra-virgin olive oil may not think they have much in common with Juan Antonio Armentero Ruiz.

Mr. Armentero, 75, wears a dirty black beret and has a shiny pink face and a mouth with only a few teeth, one of which is gold. He is convinced that the United States is exploding nuclear bombs under the nearby Andalusian hills here in southern Spain.

But whatever his politics, his problems may soon converge with those of the upscale consumers who have spurred a worldwide boom in olive-oil consumption.

On the first harvest day in the hills about Jaén, 300 kilometers south of Madrid and the biggest olive-producing region in the world, four men on Mr. Armentero's crew thrust the branches with sticks, sending olives falling into big plastic nets below. Two women spend hours on their knees picking up what misses the nets.

But the crew is small. The trees "look like they've already been picked," Mr. Armentero said. "Fact is, they just don't have any olives. We're living through a disaster."

Though farmers in Spain, like elsewhere, are known to overstate their troubles, and Mr. Armentero certainly enjoys hyperbole, that is not much of an exaggeration. Spain is in its fifth year of drought, and the 1995 olive harvest is about a third of normal, with many farmers in this region saying that their harvests will be more like 10 percent of normal.

The shortage catches Spain's olive business in the cleft between the inefficiencies of peasant European agriculture and a struggle to modernize. Farmers in recent years have invested in more modern equipment, hoping to make their share of the olive-oil boom commensurate with the high quality of Spanish produce. But their efforts are foundering on the cruelty of the elements.

Because agriculture accounts for a hefty part of Spain's economy, the growers' woes help leave the country with one foot in modern Europe and the other in the past.

For the world's consumers — who spend more than \$5 billion a year for olive oil, because of its flavor and because of a variety of health claims — the Spanish drought assures higher prices.

Global production will fall 25 percent short of demand this year, industry analysts say. Italy and Greece, the No. 2 and No. 3 producers after Spain, normally with more than 30 percent of the market, are enjoying plentiful harvests. But Tunisia, No. 4, has also been parched by drought and has lost half its crop.

Importers in the United States say that prices, already up 40 percent this year, could rise a further 30 percent or more early next year.

"It's the worst Spanish crop I have ever seen," said Richard Sullivan, president of the North American Olive Oil Association.

Though American customers will pay higher prices — some no doubt griping about laying out \$5 for a half-liter of oil — the consequences are more biting for the Spanish growers. The drought spells deeper poverty in a region that is among this country's poorest.

"The money I get from my olives is what I usually use to make sure I eat well during the winter," said José Carlos Oro Pérez, 76, as he walked his white donkey down a country road. He estimated that his crop would be about 8 percent of normal. "So I guess it will be hard this year."

To be sure, donkeys are not the common form of transportation for olive farmers. That happens to be

See OLIVES, Page 11



A personnel carrier crossing the U.S. Army bridge into Bosnia on Monday as a man cleared driftwood on the Sava. Page 11.

Bosnia Awaits Political Peacemakers

No-Show by Implementation Team Risks Delays

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — At Sarajevo's battle-scarred Feri Elektro building, the lights were on and somebody was home, but it wasn't Carl Bildt.

On the second floor, officials from Bosnia's Ministry of Trade paced the hall, reams of documents cradled in their arms. Upstairs, aid workers hatched plans to improve life in Bosnia. Somebody had been smoking marijuana in a bathroom. Somebody was listening to rock and roll behind a door.

Busy as it was, the scene was not what was supposed to be going on in the downtown building. The two floors were supposed to be occupied by people working for Mr. Bildt, a former prime minister of Sweden who has been named chief international diplomat in Bosnia and assigned to coordinate implementation of the civilian and po-

litical provisions of Bosnia's peace plan.

But Mr. Bildt's team has not arrived in Sarajevo and has done little work elsewhere. One important deadline stipulated in the Dayton plan's political provisions has been missed, and Western diplomats warn that the window of opportunity pried open by the early success of the military side of the agreement could soon slam shut.

"They don't even have a contract signed for their offices yet," a Bosnian official said. "Soon they may be homeless like the rest of us."

The pace adopted by Mr. Bildt and his staff, as well as other groups, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, that are critical to the implementation of the Dayton plan, is being watched closely because of the immense amount of political, economic and humanitarian work that must be done if peace is going to come to Bosnia.

The peace plan is clearly divided into two sections. The military portion is 24 pages long and involves separating Bosnia's warring factions and controlling a 1,000-kilometer-long (600-mile-long) demilitarized zone between them.

The civilian, humanitarian and political portion of the document comprises an inch-thick pile of 67 pages and tries to put the three factions back together as peaceful partners.

Under the Dayton accord, Bosnia will be split into two parts — a Muslim-Croat federation and a Serbian-run section — tied together by a loose national government. Western diplomats worry that if only the military annex succeeds, the tenuous links written into the political side of the peace plan to keep Bosnia a single country will collapse — leading the Serb side to merge with Serbia and the Croats to break their

See BOSNIA, Page 11

On Hong Kong, a Softening of Tone

By Kevin Murphy
International Herald Tribune

HONG KONG — The senior Chinese official with responsibility for Hong Kong affairs, Lu Ping, called Monday for a "new dawn in cooperation" with Britain over the colony's return to Beijing's rule in less than 18 months' time.

After a rocky past year in Chinese-British relations, conciliatory New Year's Day comments from the head of China's Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office might suggest that the worst of many transitional disputes between Beijing and London are over.

"It is imperative to seize every minute and second to prepare for resuming the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong," Mr. Lu said. He was quoted by China's official Xinhua press agency as preparations went ahead for Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind's

visit to Beijing later this month. But Mr. Lu can afford to be confident that relations with Britain will proceed smoothly, largely because London now appears as intent on achieving a smooth transition as Beijing has continually requested it to be.

Britain in fact is powerless to do much else but cooperate, as Mr. Lu reminded it Monday, saying: "We are convinced that the lack of cooperation of the British side on the Hong Kong issue will not only harm the smooth transition of Hong Kong, but hurt Britain itself."

Policymakers in London evidently agree with the wisdom of going along quietly, either for trade and commercial gains or the lack of viable alternatives for influencing China's policy on Hong Kong.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Since June, when Britain agreed with China to a deal on the structure of Hong Kong's future Supreme Court — which most local lawyers and many legislators believe is flawed — London has shied away from real confrontation.

Forced to retreat from a long-held stance that the Court of Final Appeal be set up before 1997, Governor Chris Patten argued instead that a less-than-perfect deal was better than no agreement at all. It was a choice for the inevitable over the ideal.

In the months since, Beijing has signaled its intention to abolish the newly elected local legislature, to weaken civil liberties protections significantly and to ignore the Hong Kong organizations and people who disagree with planned changes to their way of life.

Mr. Patten and senior Hong Kong officials have criticized Beijing's plans,

See COLONY, Page 11

Ailing Saudi Ruler Transfers Power

Abdullah, King Fahd's Deputy, Takes Temporary Command

By Youssef M. Ibrahim
New York Times Service

PARIS — King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on Monday handed authority to his half-brother, Crown Prince Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz, saying that he needed time to rest and recuperate from exhaustion.

Anxious to assure the notion of continuity, Saudi officials stressed the king was not abdicating, but taking a medical leave. Ever since King Fahd was taken to a hospital's emergency room a little more than a month ago, the Saudi government has persistently denied Western officials' accounts that he suffered a stroke, maintaining that the 74-year-old monarch was the victim of his heavy work load.

A royal decree directed the 72-year-old crown prince, who is the first deputy prime minister, "to take over management of government affairs while we enjoy rest and recuperation."

The king's order did not specify how long he expected to be absent.

The announcement on Monday suggested that King Fahd had been stricken with an illness that has largely incapacitated him. The king was released from the hospital on Dec. 7, and there were strong assurances that his health had improved. But although he was shown on television receiving royal family princes and senior aides, officials have said that he left all business of government to the crown prince.

"Because we wish to spend some time resting and recuperating and because of your highness's good character, we entrust you in this decree to take over management of government

while we enjoy rest and recuperation," the king's decree read.

The switch in power does not affect the status quo that has existed for more than four weeks. The crown prince ran cabinet meetings and represented Saudi Arabia in the Gulf Cooperation Council summit of rulers in Oman.

Saudi businessmen said the transition had been smooth, eliciting no outward signs of dissent within the royal family. Crown Prince Abdullah has long been designated to succeed King Fahd. Third in line for the throne is Prince Sultan, the defense minister and a full brother of the king from the Sudairi clan.

Although not a member of the powerful Sudairi clan, Crown Prince Abdullah has his own power base among the large Bedouin tribes of Saudi Arabia and in the 57,000 men of the National Guard, which he commands.

The crown prince is renowned in Arab circles to be an Arab nationalist who puts an additional accent on ties among Arab countries. He maintains close ties with President Hafez Assad of Syria and has spoken many times of the need to rebuild Arab cohesion, shattered by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait five years ago.

Western diplomats suggested that the crown prince might be less enthusiastic than King Fahd to endorse any and all American policies in the region.

In the broad outlines of Saudi policy, however, which rest on maintaining a strategic alliance with the United States and friendly Arab countries to contain

See PRINCE, Page 11

AGENDA

Rebels Surrender in West Liberia

MONROVIA, Liberia (AP) — Rebels who held part of western Liberia under siege over the holiday weekend surrendered Monday, waving white flags as they asked for negotiations.

At least seven West African peacekeepers were killed in clashes with rebels over the weekend. Unconfirmed reports say dozens of civilians were killed and wounded.

The fighting was the worst violation of a cease-fire in the six-year-old civil war that has left 150,000 people dead and half of the country's 2.6 million people displaced.

The new fighting began Friday evening near the city of Tubmanburg, about 70 kilometers (44 miles) north of the seaside capital, Monrovia. Relief agencies in Tubmanburg reported handling 80,000 people who fled the weekend clashes.

The fighting is in a region controlled by the ethnic Krahn branch of United Liberation Movement. Factions within the rebel group are battling over territory in the diamond- and timber-rich region.

A 7,000-member peacekeeping force has been trying to enforce a cease-fire that began in August.

EUROPE Page 2

Cheers for Turkey's 'Pariah'

THE AMERICAS Page 3

Budget Stalemate Enters 3d Week

ASIA Page 4

Murayama Will Step Aside

SPORTS Page 14

Wild Cards Open NFL Playoffs

BUSINESS/FINANCE Page 9

Cracking China's Media Market

Opinion Page 4

Crossword Page 12

International Classified Page 6



WOMEN SCORNED — Bangladeshi women demonstrating Monday in Dhaka against Islamic clerics who oppose education and employment of women. About 100,000 rural women attended the rally.

Now, It's the Turn of Black Women ('Amen.' Moviegoers Cry)

By Karen De Witt
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — "Waiting to Exhale," the movie, is rapidly proving to be "Waiting to Exhale," the event, as black women across the United States pour into theaters to see the film about the lives of four black professional women.

In a year when events like the O. J. Simpson trial and the Million Man March focused attention on black men, along comes a movie centered on black women. The film, the moviegoers say, celebrates the trials and triumphs of black career women — a much-missed reflection of their lives, concerns and desires — and offers a loving portrait that has nothing to do with racism, interactions with whites, or ghetto life.

Groups of women, largely black but including

many whites, are buying tickets in blocs and holding sessions to talk about what they have seen. In the theaters, meanwhile, audiences have talked to the screen, with many women shouting "Amen!" to the actresses' lines.

"This is our 'Million Man March,'" said Linda Tucker, a speech pathologist at the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, in Newark. With a small group, she recently saw the movie about four contemporary women living in Phoenix and plans a larger outing next month. She hailed its theme as one "around which women can rally and find commonality."

Based on the novel by Terry McMillan, the 20th Century Fox movie stars Whitney Houston, Angela Bassett, Lela Rochon and Loretta Devine and is the first feature directed by the actor Forest Whitaker. It opened over the Christmas weekend

as No. 1 at the box office, grossing more than \$14.1 million, and was at No. 4 last weekend.

"I thought I'd get five or six women, but each time I'd think I had a final count, someone else would call," said Patricia Wheeler-Holmes, 44, a Howard University adjunct professor who issued an invitation to friends in the Washington area to see the movie together. "I ended up buying tickets and arranging dinner for 41 women."

In New York, a group of 25 black and Hispanic women, including several wives of New York Knicks players, joined an outing organized by Lisa Nkonoki, president of Nkonoki George Entertainment, and Gayle King, a television personality from Hartford, Connecticut. Afterward, the group went to Ms. King's house for dinner.

"We ate, talked about relationships and danced just like they did in the movie," said Deborah

Williams, wife of the Knicks player Herb Williams. "The movie had a universal theme. It was about friendship and bonding and dealing with relationships."

The story picks up a theme about the strained relations between black men and women that was explored in Alice Walker's 1983 novel, "The Color Purple," and Ntozake Shange's 1975 choreopoem, "For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow Is Enuf."

But "Waiting" has provoked far less outcry from men than the two earlier works, which were hard-luck tales of women struggling to assert themselves versus the cads who would hold them down. The witty, solidly middle-class heroines of "Waiting" seem less victims than shrewd professionals who can be faulted almost as much as their men for doing dumb things for love.

Newsstand Prices	
Bahrain	1,000 Din
Cyprus	£ 1.00
Denmark	14.00 D.Kr.
Finland	12.00 F.M.
Gibraltar	£ 0.85
Great Britain	£ 0.90
Egypt	£ 2.50
Jordan	1,250 JD
Kuwait	£ 1.50
Malta	45 c.
Nigeria	125.00 Naira
Oman	1,250 Rials
Qatar	10.00 Rials
Repub. Ireland	IR £ 1.00
Saudi Arabia	10.00 R
S. Africa	R10 + VAT
U.A.E.	10.00 Dirh
U.S. Mil. (Eur.)	£ 1.20
Zimbabwe	Zim\$20.00



Turkey's Islamic Party Chief: A 'Pariah' Who Is Cheered

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

ANKARA — When the leader of Turkey's surging Islamic party, Necmettin Erbakan, stepped onto an Ankara street recently after a meeting with business leaders, a cheering crowd quickly engulfed him. From windows high above, people began waving and chanting his name.

"What will you do if you are excluded from the new government?" a reporter asked him.

Mr. Erbakan paused for a moment to absorb the good will washing over him. Then he replied: "We won't do anything. We'll just sit back, drink our coffee, and enjoy the show."

Although he holds strongly Islamic political views, Mr. Erbakan is very different from Muslim militants who have emerged in the Middle East and North Africa. He challenges the resolute secularism on which Turkey has been based for more than 70 years, but he embraces the country's commitment to peaceful politics.

Mr. Erbakan's Welfare Party finished first in the parliamentary elections held Dec. 24, taking slightly more than 21 percent of the vote. He would like to join the next coalition government, but most politicians are treating him like a pariah.

During his campaign, Mr. Erbakan painted visions of a pan-Islamic world in which Turks would be able to travel without passports to such countries as Iran, Saudi Arabia and Algeria. He promised to liberate Turkey from "the yoke of the West" by pulling it out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and creating an "Islamic NATO" and an "Islamic common market."

Often he referred to Turkey's grand history, touching off a longing that news commentators here call "Ottoman nostalgia."

In domestic policy, Mr. Erbakan calls for an end to interest rates, which he says violate Islamic teachings. He condemns rules that prohibit female students from wearing shawls over their hair, a practice that often represents fidelity to Islam.

Even before the election, the Welfare

Party's positions seemed to shape the statements of other politicians. Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, for example, began speaking of Turkey as "culturally different from Europe" and said it sought to enter the European Union "with its Koran and its call to prayer."

But Mr. Erbakan is no ascetic. His daughter's wedding at a plush Ankara hotel last year was one of the season's most spectacular social events.

His followers are known for their tireless dedication to his cause. Their claim to have spoken with every voter in the country during the recent campaign may be an exaggeration, but no other party would even dare to make the claim.

Mr. Erbakan often made several campaign appearances a day, plunging into crowds to shake hands and listen to complaints. Mrs. Ciller's appearances were limited, and she normally left as soon as she finished speaking.

Mr. Erbakan, 69, was born in the Black Sea town of Sinop. He attended a German-language grammar school in Istanbul and earned an engineering degree at the Aachen Technical University.

He has been active in Turkish politics for decades and served briefly as deputy prime minister in 1974. The Welfare Party is the third political party that he has founded; the others were dissolved by military governments on the ground that they threatened the secular character of the Turkish state.

Turkey's senior military officers, who consider themselves the ultimate guarantors of secular rule, have issued no direct threats against the Welfare Party. But during a visit to an army base after the election, General Ismail Hakkı Karadayı, chief of the general staff, made a point of asserting that the military would not tolerate "any form of backwardness or fanaticism."

In the election this month, the Welfare Party did well throughout the country, showing special strength in villages and urban slums. Its supporters do not fit the stereotype of clenched-fist radicals anxious to be martyred for their faith. Many are like Erdal Nergiz, a 23-year-old shopkeeper from the eastern town of Bitlis, who is working in Ankara to support his widowed mother.

"I am in business," Mr. Nergiz said. "My girlfriend is Christian. I love traveling in Europe. At night I go to discos and drink alcohol. All of this means that I shouldn't like Welfare. But I gave them my vote."

He added: "I did it because 80 percent of the people in this country are poor, and the leaders of other parties don't do anything for them. The corruption and bribery here is just too much. I'm not afraid of fundamentalism, because the army will never allow it. My vote was not for Islam, but for cleaner and better government."

Negotiations to form a new government will probably take weeks. Politicians are debating whether they should continue to exclude the Welfare Party or embrace it in the hope that once it assumes a share of power, it will begin to lose its appeal.

"If you expel Welfare and condemn them to opposition, they will continue to grow," Mehmet Ali Birand, a columnist, warned in the daily Sabah. "If you don't give them any responsibility, they will stay at the center of attention."

Fresh Vows by Chirac Meet With Skepticism

His Critics Cite Contradictions

PARIS — French opposition parties and unions gave a wary reception to President Jacques Chirac's New Year pleas for renewed confidence, dialogue and job creation to help heal the wounds left by the worst social unrest in a decade.

Mr. Chirac, seeking to dismiss the impression that he had betrayed campaign promises of battling unemployment with a recent shift to austerity, said he wanted priority for jobs for the young and cuts in working hours in 1996.

Marc Blondel, head of the no-partisan Workers' Force union, said he detected "a will for appeasement" in Mr. Chirac's speech Sunday night after the 24-day public sector strikes wound down before Christmas. But he expressed doubts that Prime Minister Alain Juppé, whose plan to overhaul the indebted social welfare system was the main trigger of the strikes, would carry out Mr. Chirac's wishes.

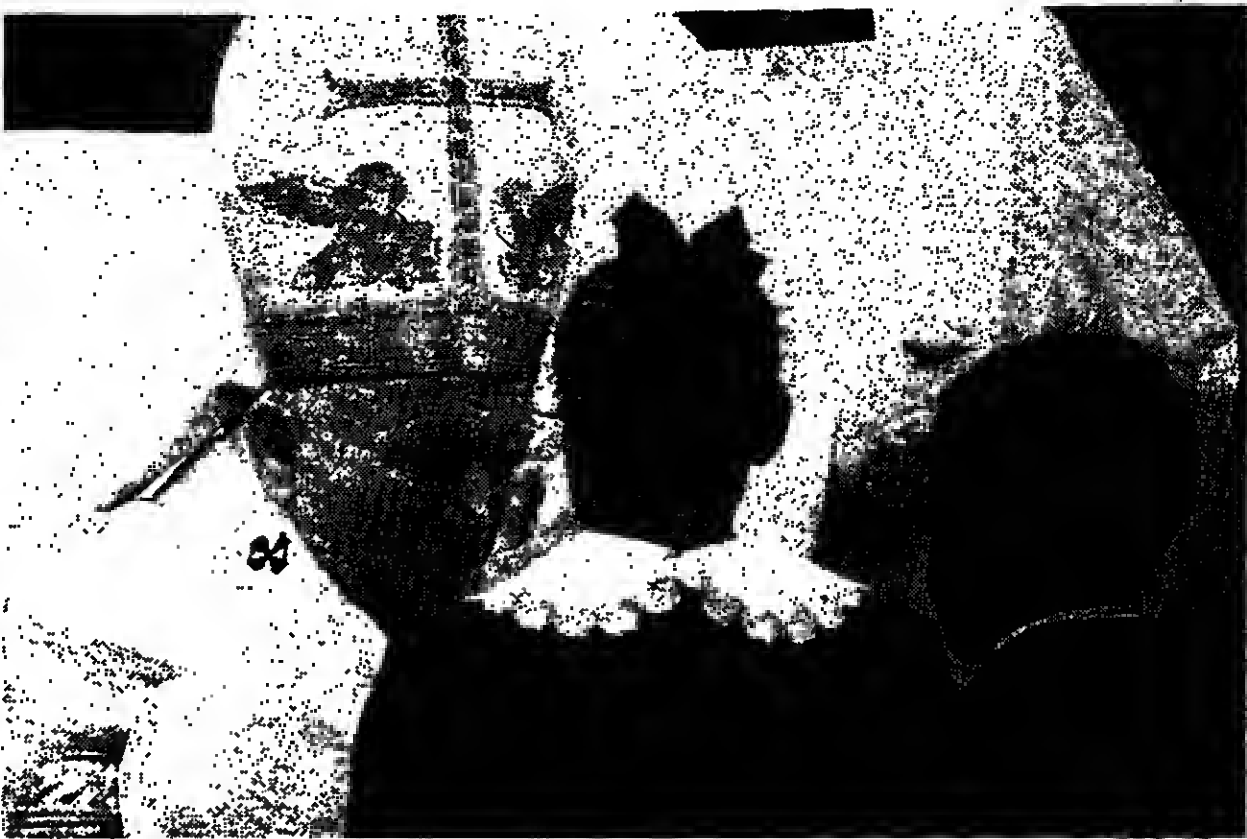
Mr. Chirac acknowledged that the crisis had revealed "a lack of confidence in the authorities who are felt as being cut off from the reality of daily life."

Yet alongside the contrition, he praised Mr. Juppé and strongly defended the social welfare reforms as vital to guaranteeing the next generation "efficient and just social protection accessible to all."

A Socialist Party spokesman, François Hollande, said there was a "string of contradictions" between Mr. Chirac's speech and his acts.

He noted that Mr. Chirac said he wanted no more tax rises, beyond those already planned, on the eve of the start of a new 0.5 percent income tax to repay the accumulated 250 billion franc (\$50 billion) debt of the social welfare system.

The Communist Party said that Mr. Chirac had chosen "self-justification" and "self-celebration."



CALL FOR PEACE — Pope John Paul II caressing the cheek of a child after New Year's Mass in St. Peter's Cathedral. He said he was dedicating 1996 to children, especially those suffering from war or other violence.

BRIEFLY EUROPE

Corsican Nationalist Slain

AJACCIO, Corsica — Gunmen killed a Corsican nationalist on New Year's Day, and three bombs exploded on the French Mediterranean island, raising fears of a renewed vendetta between rival separatists.

Gilbert Rossi, a 34-year-old member of the Cuncolta Naziunale movement, was killed Monday by unidentified attackers outside a restaurant during New Year celebrations in the port of Ajaccio in the southwest of the island.

Three bombs, including one at an apartment owned by another Cuncolta member, went off in the town before dawn. No one was hurt in the explosions. (Reuters)

Blast in Paris Damages Cars

PARIS — Unidentified attackers have set off a small explosion in central Paris, but the police said they saw no link to a deadly wave of bombings in 1995 by suspected Algerian Islamic militants.

The blast on Saturday night shattered a window of an office of Citibank and slightly damaged cars parked in the Rue Vernet, near the Champs-Élysées. No one was hurt, and no one took responsibility. "There's no sign of a link to the attacks of this summer," a police officer said, referring to the blasts that killed eight people and injured more than 170 from July to October. (Reuters)

Major Attacks Tory Defector

LONDON — Prime Minister John Major went on the offensive Monday to counter the damage inflicted on his Conservative Party by the defection to opposition ranks of a prominent member of Parliament.

Mr. Major accused Emma Nicholson, the defector, of betraying Conservative voters who had twice elected her to Parliament. He also made clear that he intended to serve his full term of office until May 1997 despite his slender five-seat majority. "It is easy to cut and run when hard decisions have to be made," he said. (Reuters)

Yeltsin Sees 'Turn for the Better'

VLADIVOSTOK, Russia — President Boris N. Yeltsin pledged in a New Year message on Sunday that Russians' living standards would improve in 1996 and promised tough action against anyone who misused funds earmarked for social needs.

"The main task for 1996 is that those in Russia who today are poor should begin to live better," Mr. Yeltsin said. "Life is difficult, but a turn for the better is already visible," he said. (Reuters)

Palace Mum on Report of Divorce Accord

LONDON — Buckingham Palace played down newspaper reports on Monday that Diana, Princess of Wales, had agreed to Queen Elizabeth II's demand that she divorce Prince Charles.

"There are no developments on that issue," a palace spokesman said. "The princess is considering the matter. She is on holiday at the moment and there has been no change in the position."

There were no details of when Diana, who is due to return from a Caribbean vacation this week, would resume talks with the palace about the future of her marriage to the heir to the throne.

The Daily Mirror reported Monday that Diana had agreed to a divorce, as

the queen proposed last month, but only if she is assured of a role in public life and treatment as a royal.

"I realize now that a divorce is inevitable," the tabloid newspaper quoted Diana as saying in phone calls to friends and advisers. "No one can stand up to the queen forever. But I have made it clear that the divorce will be on my terms. I have always said that the lady will never go quietly — and now I know they believe me."

"The crux of the negotiation revolves around Diana's public role," a friend of the 34-year-old princess was quoted as saying. "She believes that she still has a great deal to offer the country."

Diana has said she would like to act

as a roving ambassador overseas and as a "Queen of Hearts" at home.

Although some establishment figures have been cool to the idea of Diana remaining in the public eye in the event of a divorce, Prime Minister John Major has said the princess deserved a "dignified role and a worthwhile role" whatever becomes of her marriage.

The couple has been separated since 1992, but the latest negotiations began only after the queen wrote to Charles and Diana urging them to divorce to avoid a constitutional crisis.

Charles, 47, quickly agreed, but the report in the Mirror was the first time there had been any suggestion that Diana would accept the queen's request.

WEATHER

Forecast for Wednesday through Friday, as provided by Accu-Weather.

Europe	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low	Day After	High	Low
Austria	17/22	13/9	11/5	18/24	12/8	6/2	19/25	13/9	11/5
Belgium	14/21	10/7	8/4	15/22	11/7	5/1	16/23	12/8	6/2
Denmark	16/22	12/8	10/6	17/23	13/9	7/3	18/24	14/10	8/4
France	15/21	11/7	9/5	16/22	12/8	6/2	17/23	13/9	7/3
Germany	14/20	10/6	8/4	15/21	11/7	5/1	16/22	12/8	6/2
Greece	18/24	14/10	12/8	19/25	15/11	9/5	20/26	16/12	10/6
Ireland	12/18	8/4	6/2	13/19	9/5	7/3	14/20	10/6	8/4
Italy	16/22	12/8	10/6	17/23	13/9	7/3	18/24	14/10	8/4
Japan	15/21	11/7	9/5	16/22	12/8	6/2	17/23	13/9	7/3
Netherlands	14/20	10/6	8/4	15/21	11/7	5/1	16/22	12/8	6/2
Poland	13/19	9/5	7/3	14/20	10/6	8/4	15/21	11/7	5/1
Portugal	17/23	13/9	11/7	18/24	14/10	12/8	19/25	15/11	9/5
Romania	16/22	12/8	10/6	17/23	13/9	7/3	18/24	14/10	8/4
Spain	18/24	14/10	12/8	19/25	15/11	9/5	20/26	16/12	10/6
Sweden	12/18	8/4	6/2	13/19	9/5	7/3	14/20	10/6	8/4
Switzerland	15/21	11/7	9/5	16/22	12/8	6/2	17/23	13/9	7/3
Turkey	16/22	12/8	10/6	17/23	13/9	7/3	18/24	14/10	8/4
U.S.	14/20	10/6	8/4	15/21	11/7	5/1	16/22	12/8	6/2
U.K.	13/19	9/5	7/3	14/20	10/6	8/4	15/21	11/7	5/1
USSR	12/18	8/4	6/2	13/19	9/5	7/3	14/20	10/6	8/4

North America	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low	Day After	High	Low
Alaska	12/18	8/4	6/2	13/19	9/5	7/3	14/20	10/6	8/4
Canada	13/19	9/5	7/3	14/20	10/6	8/4	15/21	11/7	5/1
U.S.	14/20	10/6	8/4	15/21	11/7	5/1	16/22	12/8	6/2

South America	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low	Day After	High	Low
Brazil	18/24	14/10	12/8	19/25	15/11	9/5	20/26	16/12	10/6
Colombia	17/23	13/9	11/7	18/24	14/10	12/8	19/25	15/11	9/5
Peru	16/22	12/8	10/6	17/23	13/9	7/3	18/24	14/10	8/4
Venezuela	15/21	11/7	9/5	16/22	12/8	6/2	17/23	13/9	7/3

 Heavy Rain	 Heavy Snow
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Asia

Very cold air will push Wednesday. Heavy rain will fall over Hokkaido and Japan. Tokyo will have scattered rain. The rest of the country will be dry out with strong winds. Heavy dry snowfalls will be the rule for Hong Kong. Scattered rain for Singapore.

	Today		Tomorrow	
	High	Low	High	Low
China	18/11	11/52	23/62	12/53
India	25/73	16/64	28/82	18/64
Japan	23/73	12/63	21/70	12/60
Korea	17/62	11/51	21/70	12/60
Thailand	21/68	20/70	23/68	24/70
Taiwan	21/70	17/68	24/76	17/62
Philippines	17/62	14/64	18/61	7/54

Temperature, High/Low, in degrees Celsius

Pat Buchanan's Fire-and-Brimstone Crusade for the Presidency

By James Bennet
New York Times Service

BATON ROUGE, Louisiana — Those who support Patrick Joseph Buchanan for president find themselves warding off unloved labels these days: "protectionist," "isolationist" and some that are a lot more unexpected.

"I'm no socialist, God knows," said Roy Luxemburg, once a supporter of Ross Perot, explaining that he had nevertheless relished listening to Mr. Buchanan rip into big business during a holiday gathering of Republican voters at an antebellum-style mansion here.

Something very strange is happening in Republican politics, and Mr. Buchanan's bare-knuckle campaign for the presidential nomination is at the center of it.

Within the party, the debate over economic policy has passed far enough through the looking glass that Mr. Buchanan, whose reviling of liberals built him a career as a presidential speechwriter and a commentator, has been branded a left-winger by some of his pious Republican critics.

To that attack, Mr. Buchanan is unyielding. "The policies I would put into place would attract Democrats and working people by the millions," he said in an interview. "Let me tell you, the group that would be alienated would be some of the financial community and some of the folks heading up the big corporations. They're the people that would be in the back of our bus."

Mr. Buchanan, who as a protest candidate ran unsuccessfully for the 1992

nomination against President George Bush, was expected this time around to vanish in a field jammed with seemingly like-minded conservatives.

Instead, he has mixed his calls for tax cuts and his bedrock social conservatism with a fierce economic nationalism that is not just rattling the presidential campaign. With his dire warnings of a spreading "new world order," he is widening post-Cold War cracks among Main Street and Wall Street Republicans over foreign and economic policy.

"These fellows are committed to a quasi-religious free-trade ideology that is colliding with reality," Mr. Buchanan said of global-trade advocates, acknowledging that he once shared their view.

What's good for General Motors is not good for America if General Motors has become a transnational corporation that sees its future in low-wage countries and in abandoning its American factories. It's a new world, a new world economically, a new world in foreign policy.

With his zest for harsh language and a record of infuriating Republican moderates, Mr. Buchanan is still alienating more voters than he is attracting, according to polls.

But he has placed second in some state polls in New Hampshire and has concocted a message and a strategy, keyed to Louisiana's first-in-the-nation caucuses Feb. 6, that are causing headaches for his better-organized and better-financed opponents, in particular Senator Phil Gramm of Texas.

Mr. Buchanan is betting that a surprisingly strong showing in this economically distressed and increasingly Republican state — where, he tells voters, he intends to "feed Phil Gramm to the alligators" — will make him the only viable alternative to the right of the front-runner for the nomination, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas.

As Mr. Buchanan travels early pri-

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mary and caucus states like Louisiana, Georgia, Iowa and New Hampshire, he assures voters that Mr. Dole and Mr. Gramm are his friends. Then, ignoring the rest of the field, he proceeds to share the two senators with the take-no-prisoners style he honed on the CNN political talk show "Crossfire."

"Bob Dole is our Walter Mondale," Mr. Buchanan told voters in Georgia.

"He's the weakest front-runner I've seen in a long time."

Although born and raised in Washington, and employed there almost his entire adult life, Mr. Buchanan, 57, mocks Mr. Dole and Mr. Gramm alike as Washington insiders.

And, noting his onetime job as communications director for the Great Communicator, President Ronald Reagan, he offers himself as

"the authentic conservative" in the race, planting suspicions that his opponents are closet moderates.

"Pat Buchanan was conservative before Phil Gramm ever said he was conservative, before conservative was cool," said Bryan Joy, a student at the University of Georgia who is chairman of the state's College Republicans.

Mr. Bush's campaign strategists partly blame Mr. Buchanan for costing them the 1992 election, first by distracting the president in the primaries, then by alienating moderates in rallying the party to a religious and cultural "war" during a prime-time speech at the Republican National Convention.

While he dwells more on economics these days, Mr. Buchanan has not softened his positions on language or social issues. At the Beirut Assembly of Old Church in Lafayette, Louisiana, he took the stage after a Christmas musical to denounce "the tragedy and atrocity of the systematic slaughter of the life of unborn children across America."

He accused intellectuals, whom he did not otherwise identify, of replacing the Bible in public schools with Playboy magazine.

"They want the children of America to despise this country's past and its history, the way they despise America's past and its history," he told the crowd of about 1,000, which punctuated his attacks with cries of "Amen, brother!"

With more time on the trail during this campaign than he spent in 1992, Mr. Buchanan has filled in ideas that he barely touched upon then. He would declare a five-year moratorium on all

new federal regulations, while requiring that all existing rules be either formally renewed after five years or dropped. He would also halt legal immigration for five years.

And he would require that all federally financed institutions, like the Smithsonian, "manifest a respect for America's history and values."

Along with cultural war, Mr. Buchanan is now talking trade war. He has seized on his opposition to two accords — the North American Free Trade Agreement and this year's broadening of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade — to woo blue-collar voters who supported Mr. Perot. The agreements are a weapon with which he attacks Mr. Gramm and Mr. Dole, who supported both, on two fronts.

The first is political nationalism. Mr. Buchanan declares that international agreements have resulted in "the continued surrender of American sovereignty to the institutions of what I call the new world order," whose members he has identified at various times as the World Trade Organization, the Tri-lateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations and the United Nations.

The second front is economic nationalism. Mr. Buchanan says the trade agreements are costing jobs. "It is immoral and it is un-American to force American textile workers who make \$9 an hour to compete with Chinese workers who make 25 cents an hour," he declared at one rally. "Neither party up there seems to be concerned about the working people."

Mr. Buchanan would impose steep

tariffs on some of the nation's biggest trading partners, including Japan, which he accused at a meeting in Georgia of having "targeted American industries as well as they targeted Pearl Harbor."

That message can be jarring to Republicans accustomed to hearing their leaders extol free trade. Indeed, it is perhaps a sign of how unconventional Mr. Buchanan's economic views have become that he felt compelled to declare to a Shreveport meeting: "I believe in capitalism."

But, he said, "conservatives ought to be worshipping at a higher altar than the bottom line on a balance sheet."

"What in heaven's name is it that we conservatives want to conserve if not social stability and family unity?" he said.

Because of free-trade advocacy, he said, such values "are being thrown up on the altar."

"For what?" he continued. "So that I can get 37 varieties of shirts? I mean, what is it all about?"

It is talk like this that led the conservative Weekly Standard to call Mr. Buchanan "America's last leftist."

Mr. Buchanan scoffs, noting that even his campaign opponents have not been defending the trade agreements. "If that's their philosophy, why don't they come out and defend it?" he said.

Mr. Buchanan has all but ruled out an independent candidacy if he does not obtain the nomination. "I've always supported the Republican nominee, and I intend to this time," he said. Then he paused, grinned and appended an escape clause: "I intend to be him."

Dickering Over Budget Takes New Year's Break

By Helen Dewar and Stephen Barr
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The new year began the way it ended, with the federal government partly shut down because of a deadlock over spending between the legislative and executive branches. Negotiations were scheduled to resume Tuesday.

"It's not going to be a happy new year" for the 760,000 workers who have been furloughed or who are working without pay because of the budget dispute, said Senator Bob Dole, the majority leader, after Senate Republicans and Democrats rejected each other's proposals to enable federal workers to return to work, at least temporarily.

At the center of the partisan scrimmaging was a proposal by Mr. Dole to declare all federal workers to be "essential," thereby returning them to work — but without pay and without new financing authority for their office operations until the overall budget dispute was resolved.

"They would be required to sit on their hands and stare at each other day after day until we pass something that gives them the right to do something," said the Senate minority leader, Thomas A. Daschle of South Dakota. Drivers of government trucks would not be able to buy gas, he added, and long-distance telephone calls would be barred because they cost money. "This is a facade. This does not work. This is not what we should be doing."

Mr. Daschle then proposed, as he has before, that the government be reopened with full funding while a budget agreement was negotiated. Mr. Dole said no.

President Bill Clinton flew to Hilton Head, South Carolina, for the annual "Renaissance Weekend," and Mr. Dole spent the rest of the holiday weekend in New Hampshire campaigning for the Republican presidential nomination. The House speaker, Newt Gingrich, went home to Georgia, his aides said.

As Mr. Dole struggled to find a way to reopen the government, Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, one of his main rivals for the Republican nomination, questioned whether anybody missed the government.

"Have you missed the government?" Mr. Gramm asked on an ABC television talk show. "I mean, doesn't it strike you funny that 280,000 government employees are furloughed, large segments of the government are shut down? I think this provides beyond the shadow of a doubt that we need to go back and eliminate another 150,000 to 200,000 bureaucratic positions in the federal government."

A White House meeting Sunday focused on how to trim health care spending, one of the knottiest issues between Mr. Clinton and the Republicans. But congressional and administration officials said most of the talk was of a technical nature, exploring how various policy options on financing the federal health insurance plan for the elderly and disabled would work. It was not a bargaining session during which either side gave ground.

Mr. Gingrich's press secretary, Tony Blankley, said he thought the "careful, me-

thodical discussions" had provided "a good understanding on both sides" of what needed to be done next.

The White House press secretary, Michael McCurry, said staff members were working in preparation for a meeting Tuesday evening between Mr. Clinton and congressional leaders. The staffs will produce a report highlighting areas of apparent agreement and explaining "the precise areas where there still appear to be differences."

"They are now ready to get to what amounts to the tradeoffs," he said.

Mr. McCurry said it was not surprising that it would take so many days to get to this point. The talks so far dealt "in a great deal of ounce and complexity" over policy options, he said, adding that people were mistaken if they thought "they can split the difference and it's simple arithmetic — that's not policymaking."

One of the places where "a fundamental dispute" remains is the Medicaid program. Mr. Clinton is opposed to giving up the federal guarantee of care for all poor people in favor of "block grants" to the states, which would then have the authority to decide who was covered and what care they would receive.

Mr. Dole, meanwhile, as he has done before, expressed optimism that the impasse would be broken this week. "We haven't given up. We're going to come back here again Tuesday and hopefully by then we'll have an agreement," he said.



Senator Dole arriving at the White House for a meeting with President Clinton.

POLITICAL NOTES

Frustration at the State Dept.

WASHINGTON — A half dozen Americans missed a papal audience at the Vatican. Tearful new-hireds had to pass up their honeymoons in Europe. And Brazilian soccer players weren't able to play a game in Pensacola, Florida.

They were some of the hundreds of thousands of travelers who have been unable to obtain passports or visas because of the U.S. government's shutdown for lack of a new budget.

The offices that issue passports here and provide visas abroad have been closed, or are barred by law from performing their duties, since the money for their operation has not been appropriated.

A senior consular official at the State Department reported a backlog of about 200,000 applications just for passports, and said she had no idea how many visa applications had been refused.

"The prohibition is a legal one," said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "It is illegal to conduct business in the absence of an appropriation."

A State Department directive has forbidden consular employees from handling all but emergency applications, such as those involving the death or critical illness of a close relative.

That means turning away U.S. students who have enrolled at universities abroad or other travelers who have bought nonrefundable airline tickets before getting their passports.

"We're in the business of providing service to the

public," the consular official said. "But we're finding it very difficult to say no all the time to people who are crying on the phone."

Already understaffed because of the furlough of many government employees, the State Department has been asked to help with travel plans of dozens of members of Congress who are using their holiday recess to travel overseas at a time when the government lacks the money to pay its 280,000 employees.

The department has told U.S. ambassadors overseas not to entertain or otherwise to engage in "representational activities." All diplomatic travel has been curtailed.

In many countries overseas, U.S. consular offices have had to remain fully staffed because national labor laws prohibit the layoff of local employees.

But these local hires are feeling the bite because, like U.S. employees, they are only being paid half of their usual salary. At the U.S. embassy in Warsaw, U.S. diplomats have taken up a collection to assist Polish employees who earn less than \$100 a week.

U.S. consulates abroad ordinarily issue 20,000 to 30,000 visas a day and receive more than eight million visa applications a year. Now the applications are piling up.

Passport offices in the United States normally handle about 80,000 applications a week. But that number jumped to 120,000 a week after the government shutdown in November. The consular official said she anticipated an even greater crush when the present shutdown ended.

Big Bucks in Retirement

WASHINGTON — Several retiring members of Congress will continue drawing 60 percent or more of their current salaries for life because of generous pension benefits.

According to calculations made by the conservative National Taxpayers Union, at least a dozen retiring members are eligible for more than \$80,000 in 1997, the year they leave office. The annual congressional salary is \$133,600.

Those elected after January 1984 fall under a different system and were not included in the calculations.

Representative G. V. Montgomery, Democrat of Mississippi, is retiring after 30 years in Congress and tops the list. He will be eligible to collect an estimated \$106,850 a year, or 80 percent of his congressional salary, the group said.

"People aren't going to look at their congressmen as retired," said David Keating, vice president for the taxpayers' group. "They are going to think they won the lottery."

Quote / Unquote

Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader, on the budget deadlock that has forced a partial shutdown of the federal government: "We need to end the impasse. It's gotten to the point where it's a little ridiculous, as far as this senator is concerned, so we are going to keep trying."

In an Anxious Trinidad, Politics Crosses 'the Racial Rubicon'

By Larry Rohter
New York Times Service

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad and Tobago — Politics in this small but remarkably diverse Caribbean nation has always been based on race, with blacks the dominant bloc. But an election here last month brought a prime minister of Indian descent to power for the first time, and both ethnic groups are now struggling to come to grips with their unfamiliar new roles.

The prime minister, Basdeo Pandey, and his United National Congress came to office by the slimmest of margins: a two-seat majority over a tenuous coalition with a minority party. Nevertheless, for a country in which the People's National Movement has been pre-eminent since independence from Britain in 1962, that change is momentous.

"The politics of Trinidad and Tobago

will never be the same again," Mr. Pandey, a 62-year-old lawyer and union leader, vowed the night his victory was assured. "I have always maintained that in this highly plural society, no one single group can run it to the exclusion of other groups."

To cheers from his mostly Indian supporters, he added: "We have crossed the racial Rubicon."

But that is what some Afro-Trinidadian voters and politicians fear, and why Mr. Pandey has embarked on the delicate process of reassuring blacks that he does not intend to harm them or their interests.

The shift of power from a largely African to a largely Indian party takes place after a long tradition of racial friction and discord here, including "black power" protests in the 1970s that twice led to the declaration of a state of emergency.

In July 1990, a black fundamentalist

Muslim group, the Jamaat Muslimen, staged an abortive coup that resulted in the deaths of 23 people, injuries to 250 and a week-long siege of Parliament before it was quashed by the army.

Now, with the victory of Mr. Pandey's party, has come a surge of confidence and self-esteem among Indians, who began arriving here in 1845 as indentured servants after slavery was abolished. The 150th anniversary of that event has been marked throughout the year with commemorations that have heightened ethnic consciousness among Indians — Hindu, Muslim, and Christian alike — in this country off the coast of Venezuela.

But many blacks worry that Mr. Pandey's election signals "a new hegemony," said Selwyn Ryan, director of the Center for Ethnic Studies at the University of the West Indies here. The Indian population has already made significant inroads in business, education, and even the

government bureaucracy, historically the domain of Afro-Trinitadians.

As promised in its election manifesto, the new administration plans to introduce a Race Relations Act that will outlaw discrimination based on race or ethnicity. That measure, which will also include creation of an Equal Opportunity Commission, appeals to many Indians, but alarms blacks, who fear that it will result in preferential treatment for Indians.

Trinidad's population of 1.3 million is almost evenly divided between people of African and Indian descent, with each group constituting about 40 percent. The remainder consists of people of mixed race and of European, Chinese, Latin American, or Arab descent.

As in past elections, more than 90 percent of black and Indian voters each supported the parties identified with their racial group, Mr. Ryan said. But, inspired by what was seen as an historic oppor-

tunity, more than 80 percent of Indian voters turned out for last month's vote, compared with less than 60 percent of the non-Indian electorate.

The party's victory has raised expectations of improved living standards among the mostly rural Indian population, which has felt shortchanged for many years by black governments. Chief among these are roads, electricity, water, housing, and scholarships.

But Mr. Pandey, aware of the lingering suspicions Afro-Trinitadians harbor about him and his party, has repeatedly stressed that his will be a government of "national unity."

In an interview here, Ramesh Maharaj, majority leader in Parliament's lower chamber and a senior advisor to the prime minister, promised "a government committed to equality" that will not "abdicate its responsibility to govern all of Trinidad and Tobago on a basis of need."

Away From Politics

• Mercedes Ramirez, who survived a plane crash that killed 160 people in the mountains of Colombia, went home to Kansas City, Missouri, for treatment of her injuries. She had eight hours of surgery at Truman Medical Center on her abdomen, spine and a thighbone, a hospital spokeswoman said. She was in serious but stable condition. (AP)

• A fire broke out in an apartment building in Philadelphia just minutes into the new year, killing a child. A man who jumped from a window also died. (AP)

• A group of Chinese women, some of them survivors of the Golden Venture smuggling ship that went aground off the coast of New York nearly three years ago, resumed eating in a Los Angeles county jail, ending a 50-day hunger strike to protest their detention and the government's plans to deport them. (NYT)

• A new study provides strong evidence that taking estrogen hormone pills offers protection against heart attacks and strokes and significantly reduces the rate of death from all causes for postmenopausal women. A report on the study is being published in the journal Obstetrics and Gynecology. (AP)

• A convict who escaped from a Nevada prison picked the wrong house to break into: He was subdued and tied up by the couple who lived there. Jose and Jesse Macias tied up Janko Gasik and watched him for about 20 minutes until the police arrived. (AP)

• Children who roam Miami's streets late at night could end up costing their parents \$500. Dade County's new "juvenile curfew ordinance" requires children under 17 to be home by 11 P.M. Sunday through Thursday, and by midnight Friday and Saturday. The fine will be imposed on parents if their children are caught violating curfew three times. (AP)

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1500	Monitor Radio*
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1800	Monitor Radio
1900	Le Show* (Mon)
	To the Best of Our Knowledge* (Tue-Thu)
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Japanese Leader to Step Down

Murayama Reportedly Acts to Help Coalition

The Associated Press
TOKYO — Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama will quit in April and turn his job over to Trade Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto to improve the election prospects of Japan's ruling coalition, a major newspaper reported Sunday.

The Yomiuri Shimbun, Japan's largest circulation newspaper, quoted unidentified government and party sources as saying that leaders of the coalition's three parties had agreed on the plan.

But Kyodo News Service quoted Mr. Murayama, 71, head of the minority Socialist party, as denying Sunday that there was an agreement. Party officials could not be reached because of the year-end holidays.

Such a deal would have to be approved by Parliament's lower house, but that would be a formality since the coalition controls 292 of its 511 seats.

Since June 30, 1994, Mr. Murayama has headed an unlikely coalition with his Socialists, another minority party and the conservative Liberal Democrats, who had ruled Japan alone for nearly four decades before falling in elections in 1993.

He is not seen, however, as the best man to lead the coalition into new elections, in which the Socialists are expected to lose ground. In joining the coalition, Mr. Murayama abandoned long-held party principles, including opposition to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, alienating the party's left wing.

Mr. Hashimoto's Liberal Democratic Party remains the largest party in Parliament.

There has been persistent speculation that Mr. Murayama would step down in favor of a Liberal Democrat, especially since the party sorted out its own leadership problems by choosing Mr.

Hashimoto, 58, as its president in September.

Meanwhile, even if the Liberal Democrats win a majority in the next lower house elections, they still need the coalition since they lack a majority in the upper house. After the power transfer, the coalition would wait at least three months to call new lower house elections, the Yomiuri said.

The Yomiuri said the power transfer was agreed upon among Mr. Murayama, Mr. Hashimoto and Finance Minister Masayoshi Takemura, head of the Japan New Party.

But, it said, under the agreement, the change would wait until the budget is passed for the fiscal year starting April 1. Mr. Murayama also would stay in power until after his planned meetings in Tokyo with President Bill Clinton on April 16-18 and a nuclear safety summit meeting in Moscow on April 19-20.

Colombo Vows 'Major Steps' for Peace

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
COLOMBO — President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga of Sri Lanka said Monday that her government would take "all major steps" to stop the war with separatist Tamil Tiger guerrillas within a year.

"It is our resolve," she said in a New Year's message, to take "all major steps to stop the terrible war within one year."

Mrs. Kumaratunga, who has proposed a peace package offering extensive autonomy to the minority Tamils, hinted that her proposals would officially be put forward by mid-January.

"It is our belief that we will be able to lay the foundation of a new era with the arrival of the Thai Pongal festival in just a few more days," she said.

Thai Pongal, the holiest day of the year for Tamils, is on Jan. 15.

Tamil leaders who met the president

last month said they expected the government to present its devolution proposals in legal form in mid-January.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who broke off a three-month truce and withdrew from peace talks in April, have refused to look at the peace plan.

Sri Lankan troops drove the guerrillas out of their northern stronghold and center of their proposed homeland, the city of Jaffna, on Dec. 2.

On Monday, Mrs. Kumaratunga stopped short of inviting the rebels for talks. Instead, she urged the Tamil people to prevail upon the Liberation Tigers "to abandon violence and tread the path of peace immediately."

The rebel Voice of Tigers radio said over the weekend that the guerrillas would resume peace talks with the government only if the army left Jaffna.

The president, in her address, indicated that the military could soon leave

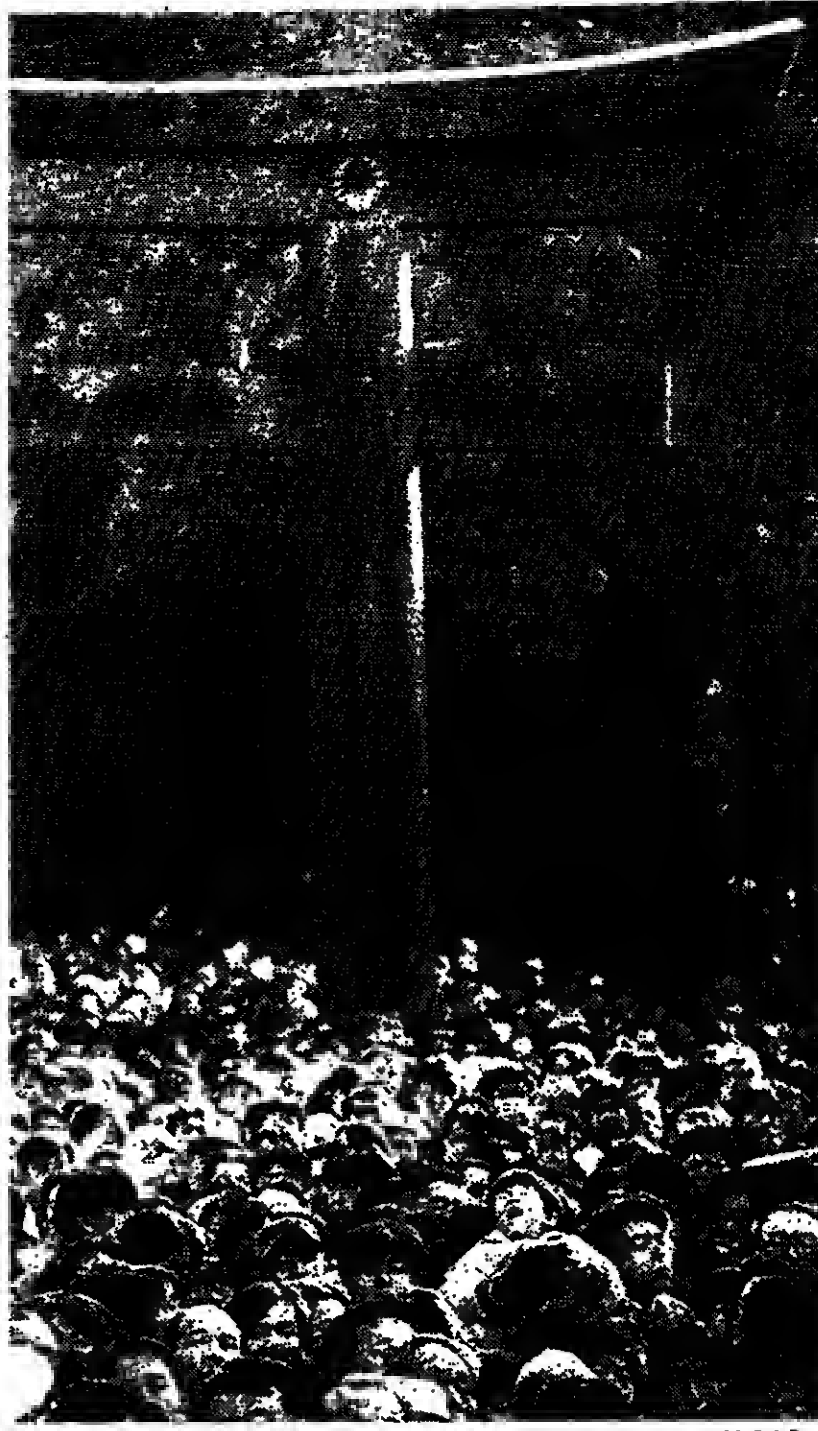
the city of Jaffna. "It is our aim to establish a civil administration in the area as soon as possible and vest the administration in the Tamil people," she said.

The rebels, in a reminder that the war was continuing in the new year, attacked an army camp and a police station.

Defense Ministry sources said that six rebels had been killed in an early-morning raid on a remote police station in the northwestern Puttalam district. One police officer was killed and four others wounded.

The rebels also fired mortars shortly after midnight at an army camp at Kenyadi in the eastern Batticaloa district. No casualties were reported.

On Monday afternoon, rebels attacked an army observation post at Urani, also in Batticaloa, but no details were immediately available, the sources said. (Reuters, AP)



PRAYERS FOR 1996 — Thousands of Japanese waiting on Monday to take their turn to offer prayers for the New Year at Tokyo's Meiji Shrine.

His Health Improving, Chun Faces Bribery Probe

By Nicholas D. Kristof
New York Times Service

TOKYO — Former President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea is recovering rapidly from his 26-day hunger strike, doctors said Monday, but now, as his health improves, he is facing a grilling about a slush fund that he allegedly accumulated while running the country in the 1980s.

Mr. Chun, who is expected to go on trial next month for staging a coup and other offenses, collapsed unconscious Friday from the effects of the hunger strike. Warning that he was close to a coma, doctors began to feed him through intravenous tubes, and since then Mr. Chun has also accepted semiliquid food as well.

"It doesn't look as if he'll go back to fasting at this point," his chief aide, Min Jung Ki, said Monday.

Although Mr. Chun has not formally renounced his hunger strike, he said Monday that he was hungry and ate beef-flavored rice gruel, a Korean television station reported.

Taking advantage of Mr. Chun's improved health, prosecutors began to question him Sunday about whether he took bribes to build up a huge slush fund during his presidency, from 1980 to 1988.

In particular, investigators asked him about an account in the Korean Investment Trust Company that they believe Mr. Chun controlled. There have been widely different reports about how much money was in the account, but the South Korean news agency Yonhap put the figure at \$133 million.

The account was opened in 1983 and closed three months ago — just as a scandal erupted about a slush fund controlled by Mr. Chun's successor as president, Roh Tae Woo. Mr. Roh is now on trial for accepting bribes during his presidency, from 1988 to 1993. Mr. Roh has acknowledged that he accepted gifts but denied that they were bribes.

The two former presidents are also expected to be tried in the coming months for staging a coup in December 1979, when they were army generals, and for ordering a massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators in the city of Kwangju in 1980. In theory, they could be sentenced to death by hanging, but in practice they are expected to be given long prison sentences.

Mr. Min said that Mr. Chun would not respond to the interrogation, adding that the prosecutors had no real evidence but were simply trying to get a confession.

Asked about the alleged \$133-million investment account, Mr. Min confirmed that it had been opened by Blue House, the South Korean presidential mansion, but said he did not have details.

But most South Koreans seem unsympathetic to the former presidents. In his New Year's message Monday, President Kim Young Sam — who once went on a long hunger strike to protest human-rights abuses when Mr. Chun was president — said the re-examination of history had just begun.

"We have just begun setting the distortions of history straight in order to build a true community which is ruled by law, justice, conscience and ethics," Mr. Kim said.

In North Korea, an editorial Monday in the Communist Party newspaper declared Kim Jong Il, the army leader, to be "our eternal supreme commander" and "the publicly recognized leader of our party and our people." Mr. Kim is generally believed to be running the country, but he has not taken up the posts of president or party leader held by his father, Kim Il Sung, who died in 1994.

Monitors Fault Palestinians For Tinkering With Elections

Reuters
JERUSALEM — International observers assigned to monitor the first Palestinian general election said Monday that the Palestinian Authority was harming the poll's credibility by making repeated procedural changes.

In separate statements, three election observer groups cited changes to the election calendar, the legal framework of the Jan. 20 poll and other delays.

Heiner Müller, Playwright, Dies

The Associated Press
BERLIN — Heiner Müller, 66, the enfant terrible of the stage under communism in East Germany and one of Europe's best-known playwrights, died of cancer Saturday.

Mr. Müller's death was announced by the Berliner Ensemble, a theater founded by Bertolt Brecht in East Berlin after World War II. Mr. Müller took over as its artistic director in 1992.

His early plays celebrated East German socialism, but he was banned after later works blamed communism for oppression, violence and anguish. By the mid-'80s he was again lionized by a regime that saw him as Brecht's heir.

"The events of the past few days have created confusion and uncertainty and give the impression of the arbitrary use of power to redesign the electoral architecture," Carl Lidbom, head of the European Union Electoral Unit, said in a strongly worded statement entitled "Enough Is Enough."

The Norwegian observers' delegation said the election law was adopted at a late stage and some of its key components were changed at the last moment.

The delegation said there had been "flaws and irregularities in the process."

No members of the Palestinian Central Election Commission were immediately available to respond to the charges.

Under a self-rule deal signed in September, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization agreed that Palestinians will elect an 82-member legislative council.

Candidate registration, which officially ended last month, was re-opened after Israel and the PLO agreed to add six seats to the council, which were distributed among the 16 districts.

The Palestinian Authority president, Yasser Arafat, also postponed the start of the election campaign from Dec. 31 until Jan. 5. Candidates have complained that even the original date gave them little time to campaign.

North Won't Starve, Seoul Says

SEOUL — A South Korean government agency, the Rural Development Administration, said Monday that reports of famine in North Korea were exaggerated and that the North had enough grain to feed itself until June.

The agency estimated that North Korea's 1995 grain harvest had fallen by about 15 percent, to 3.48 million tons, compared with 1994, the Yonhap news agency reported. But this was enough to tide the country over until June, given monthly consumption of 450,000 tons, Yonhap quoted a report by the government agency as saying.

Shortages from July to October, before this year's harvest, could be made up through imports and belt-tightening, the South Korean agency said. Pyongyang's grain imports average 1 million tons a year, the report said. "The food crisis in North Korea is somewhat exaggerated," it said.

The Food and Agricultural Organization and the World Food Program have said that nearly 2.1 million children in the North are at risk of starving, along with about 500,000 pregnant women and nursing mothers. They estimate the 1996 grain requirement at six million tons, and predict that the country will fall short by 1.2 million tons. (Reuters)

Kashmir Captives Said to Be Well

SRINAGAR, India — Four Westerners held hostage in Kashmir by separatists are in good health after nearly six months in captivity, Indian authorities said Monday.

The army and police officials said they had kept track of the hostages and their abductors as they moved among hideouts within the Himalayan region but ruled out a rescue raid for fear of endangering the four captives' lives.

"The four hostages are in Kashmir and in good health," said M. N. Sabharwal, the police chief of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.

He said the authorities had received "full information" about the hostages — two Britons, an American and a German — as they were moved within the mountainous

region. They were kidnapped in July by Al Faran militants. Another American hostage escaped, but a Norwegian was killed.

"We are concerned about their security," Mr. Sabharwal said. "Any raid or rescue operation will endanger the lives of the four hostages. We will not go for any rescue operation." (Reuters)

4 Security Men Slain in Karachi

KARACHI, Pakistan — Gunmen shot and killed two army captains, a lower-ranking soldier and a police officer here on Monday, police and ambulance workers said.

The bodies of the four victims were found in a van parked in an alley in the Liaquatnagar area, they said. They were among at least 18 people slain Monday in the city.

More than 1,950 people died in 1995 in ethnic, sectarian and political violence in Karachi. (Reuters)

For the Record

President Jiang Zemin dominated the front pages of Chinese newspapers on New Year's Day in a clear reminder that he starts 1996 as the designated successor of Deng Xiaoping. (APF)

A majority on Taiwan thinks that relations with China worsened in 1995, according to a poll by the China Times Express. In the survey, 57.3 percent of the 1,022 people interviewed said relations had worsened last year, while only 14.1 percent said they had improved. (Reuters)

Emperor Akihito acknowledged that 1995 had been a difficult year for Japan and offered his wishes that 1996 would bring better news. (AP)

At least 11 people were killed and hundreds were injured Sunday and Monday as Filipinos, continuing a dangerous tradition, defied a ban on powerful fireworks and guns to welcome the new year. (AP)

The Divide in Hong Kong Grows Deeper and Wider

By Keith Richburg
Washington Post Service

HONG KONG — Nellie Fong first met Martin Lee more than 25 years ago in London, when she was there studying accounting and he was on his way to becoming a successful barrister. Through marriage, she later became Mr. Lee's sister-in-law, and their children have grown up together.

In Hong Kong, however, Mr. Lee and Mrs. Fong have followed opposite political tracks.

Mr. Lee was elected to the colony's legislature, and emerged here as the colony's most outspoken pro-democracy advocate, a nuisance to mainland China, which takes over Hong Kong's sovereignty in 18 months. He heads the Democratic Party, which emerged in September with the largest single bloc of seats in the legislature. The party has lately been most vocal in protesting Chinese threats to curtail Hong Kong's bill of rights and abolish the local governing council.

Mrs. Fong, who was once an appointed member of the legislature, accepted Beijing's invitation to become one of China's informal advisers to the colony, and she is now set to join China's new Preparatory Committee — the group that will lay the groundwork for abolishing the legislature after the mainland assumes control here.

It was Mrs. Fong's informal advisory group that a few months ago made the recommendation that Hong Kong's bill of rights be sharply restricted.

Mr. Lee and Mrs. Fong meet at family get-togethers, but these days, the topic rarely turns to politics, because if it did, the debate might grow

hostile. "We never bring politics home," Mrs. Fong said. "Nothing is ever mentioned of politics."

Such is the nature of the political debate in Hong Kong these days in the year-and-a-half left until the end of British rule. It has grown in many ways more heated, nastier and polarized than ever before, and because of the calendar, more urgent.

And Mr. Lee and Mrs. Fong represent the two sides of the argument over how best to deal with a Chinese Communist regime anxious to assert its authority here: through quiet cooperation, or noisy confrontation.

"I believe confrontation will only push China into a corner," Mrs. Fong said. "I've been labeled a more conservative person."

Martin is a very pro-democracy person who is supporting a very fast pace of democracy for Hong Kong. I take a more cautious approach. I take a step-by-step approach, and Martin wants it immediately.

"People like Martin think we're kowtowing to China," she added. "I don't think we are. We're trying to build trust."

Mr. Lee said his party's victory in September's election underscored his claim that Hong Kong people do not want politicians to be conciliatory toward China, but to stand up and take strong positions in favor of Hong Kong's rights.

To many Hong Kongers, what the division between Mrs. Fong and Mr. Lee underscores is the loss of the middle ground and moderate political consensus that existed here in the years immediately after China's paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain signed the Joint Declaration. Under the accord, Lon-

don agreed to relinquish sovereignty over Hong Kong and Beijing pledged to allow the colony's system to remain intact for 50 years.

When China began drafting the Basic Law, the document that would serve as Hong Kong's constitution, all views were represented on the drafting committee, including Mr. Lee and the Democrats. But that was before June 1989 and China's crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing.

Hong Kong rallies in support of the Beijing movement drew 1 million people into the streets of the colony. Beijing's suppression of the movement at once unnerved Hong

ing other pro-democracy politi-

cians. "Those days are gone," China now refuses to talk with representatives of the Democratic Party and other popularly elected local politicians, deeming them "subversive." Recently, when China unveiled the members of its Preparatory Committee that will oversee the transition, Democratic Party members were most noticeable by their absence from the list.

Out of 150 Preparatory Committee members, 94 are from Hong Kong, and the local contingent is dominated by the colony's powerful business elite. The group includes 21 heads of listed companies that control 36 percent of Hong Kong's stock market, according to an estimate. Only 14 elected legislators are included, almost all from pro-China or pro-business political parties.

Fifty-six other Preparatory Committee members are mainland Chinese, mostly government officials and academics. The group is headed by Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

The main job of the committee in 1996 will be forming a separate group that will choose the future chief executive for Hong Kong, as well as appointing a provisional legislature to take over from the existing, elected legislature that China has pledged to abolish.

The heavy business representation on the Preparatory Committee is meant to signal China's intention to make sure Hong Kong's economic prosperity is protected during the handover. Business leaders here traditionally have been less outspoken about political concerns like guaranteeing individual freedoms or protecting the free press.

"Back in the days before 1989, we would have Martin Lee, Szeto Wah, Emily Lau sitting across from the Chinese side, and have very heated debates about the future of Hong Kong," said Mr. Tsang, nam-

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Martin Lee, whose Democratic Party is being sidelined.

EDITORIALS/OPINION

Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Keep Giving the Facts

We went into the microfilm for whatever thoughts might have appeared on the editorial page of *The Washington Post* 50 years ago, curious to see whether our predecessors had been tempted into prophecy by the portentousness of that first postwar New Year. Fortunately, they weren't, although there was a reference to the "great and glorious future which is opened up to mankind by the advent of the atomic age."

Most of that New Year's editorial was more somber. It spoke of the dark side of this new atomic age that had been revealed at Hiroshima only a few months before, and wondered whether the new United Nations could bring lasting peace, being, as it was, no more than a collection of the same notoriously lawless nation-states whose conflicts had been tearing the world apart for 40 years.

That sort of world-federalist talk seems almost quaint today after a half-century in which many millions of people have died at the hands of others — most of them victims not of wars between bickering nation-states but of the cruelty, neglect or incompetence of the people who ruled over them or of some faction that wanted to. Moreover, compared with open warfare among countries, the mass killing that has gone on in the Soviet Union, China, Cambodia,

southern and central Africa, to name only the most prominent examples, has been almost furtive, hidden away from the world's view by dictatorial governments or insurgent movements until the worst was over, and probably never to be known in all its awful detail. The same is true of the famines that have killed millions in the past half-century, most caused or made worse by the actions of governments or by civil strife.

Much of that "great and glorious" future has happened, of course: medical, agricultural and technological advances that have made life better and longer for hundreds of millions of people, the coming of democracy to scores of countries. And to a large extent these good things were made possible by the increase and wide diffusion of knowledge — just as much of the evil that has marked the postwar period was fostered by secrecy and the spreading of lies and hatred by mass media such as radio, which even recently has spurred people on to the worst killing in places such as Rwanda and Bosnia.

"Give the people the facts," said that long-ago editorial. That is not a simple thing to do, and it will never be accomplished to everyone's satisfaction, but it is still as much worth attempting today, and as useful a resolve, as it was on Jan. 1, 1946.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

A Good Year for Peace

Granted, the structure of peace is rickety and various cease-fires could burst apart at any moment. It must be agreed as well that wars could explode overnight in countries ostensibly at peace. Still, something wonderful happened in 1995: the year ended with fewer guns being fired and fewer people being killed as conflicts long deemed intractable yielded to diplomacy. From the Caribbean to the Balkans, from southern Africa and the Middle East to the Irish Sea, the dream of peace has circled the globe.

For the first time in five years, Sarajevans can cross the street without fear of sniper bullets. Belfast marked a second peaceful Christmas after three decades of strife. For the first time since its birth in 1948, Israel is formally at peace with the Palestinian people, Jordan and Egypt, and talks are under way with Syria.

Weatiness with unremitting tension and periodic bloodbaths has ousted peacekeepers to the table. Also important was a yearning for material betterment, which proved a potent ally for peacekeepers, especially among Arab peoples who seemed to be falling increasingly behind. In the former Yugoslavia, the need to rebuild shattered economies helped drive warring parties to the negotiating table.

Initially, the end of the Cold War gave fresh life to dormant separatist movements. But once America emerged as sole superpower and Moscow ceased to be its global rival, dictators and guerrillas alike lost their old leverage and had to deal with each other, as in southern Africa.

Still, the triggering catalyst in 1995 was American leadership. The Bosnian accord was forged in Ohio, the peace

talks in Northern Ireland were kept alive with help from President Bill Clinton, and the breakthrough in the Middle East was in major part the result of determined American diplomacy.

Mr. Clinton was initially reluctant to assume the risks of foreign policy leadership. A Somalia peacekeeping mission, launched by George Bush, blew apart. Americans were deeply divided about how to promote democracy in Haiti and peace in the former Yugoslavia. The reckoning is not yet final, but the worst fears about intervention in Haiti did not materialize.

Remarkably, for the first time since the early 1950s, there are no civil wars or insurgencies in the Caribbean.

Asia is less fortunate. Against all reason, fighting continues in Afghanistan, and Kabul is reduced to rubble. Not even a hint of compromise is evident in rebellious Kashmir, India's most unwilling state, and Tamil extremists have rebuffed overtures from a new Sri Lankan government. Cambodia is nominally at peace, but a UN settlement has yet to sink roots. Turkey continues its scorched-earth drive against Kurdish rebels, and truces rather than real settlements mute conflicts in Georgia and Chechnya.

In Africa, a new president in Algeria has opened the way to peace talks with Islamic militants, and civil wars in Mozambique and Angola are yielding to pragmatic diplomacy. But in Sudan, Africa's longest war resists mediation, and ethnic strife continues to menace Rwanda and Burundi.

The progress of peace in 1995 confirms that even the oldest, ugriest conflicts are amenable to energetic diplomacy. May 1996 be as encouraging.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Chechnya Obsession

The startling aspect of Russia's Chechnya obsession is that, a year later, the war is going on as bitterly and with as little prospect for resolution as ever. In December 1994 a frustrated Boris Yeltsin, told by his generals to expect a quick victory, threw in troops to put down an erratic but insistent Chechen general's assertion of independence. (Chechnya is Russian by the familiar 19th century methods of imperial conquest.) The resulting war has taken some 20,000 casualties, including many Russian soldiers. The toll to civilian property and normality has been devastating. This miserable conflict seems beyond stopping.

In a political sense, the principal casualty has unquestionably been President Yeltsin. Chechnya, David to Russia's Goliath, has shown him as a weak and ineffective leader. He has been no more able to manage his own military — he now claims that he "never" supported armed action, "especially in the hurried way it was carried out in Chechnya" — than to put down what even his many critics have accepted is a rude challenge to Russia's sovereign authority.

Russia's legislative and judicial institutions, its political community and public opinion and its military professionals have all proved inadequate

in their respective fashions to check the disastrous run of Russia's policy. Cruelty toward civilians has become the hallmark of failed army efforts to crush the Chechen rebellion, and remains a source of deep embarrassment to Boris Yeltsin on the world stage. The war he is prosecuting has raised deep and wide suspicions of Russian integrity in reviving an empire. The only good thing to come out of this sad adventure is the Russian media's assertive coming-of-age coverage of it.

The rebels insist on independence. Russia insists on sovereignty. Perhaps there is no choice left to the combatants but to play out their feroceous test of wills. Perhaps it will take a change of leadership on one side or the other to prompt a policy change. Perhaps there is no room for effective political or humanitarian intervention from outside.

The rebels, locked on and by Chechen nationalism, appear unreachable, outwitting their contribution to the ruin of the land they declare to be their own. But Russia is or presumes to be a mature state capable of measuring costs against benefits and of altering tactics accordingly. Can anyone say that Boris Yeltsin's Russia has met this test or that he and it have any more urgent business?

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

About Peace, War and 'Mindless Materialism'

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — Maybe peace has a better chance in the coming year. The fighting has at last stopped in Bosnia and isn't going to resume so long as NATO is there. By the time the troops leave, reconstruction will have started and, hopefully, new political arrangements will have taken hold.

Peace talks are resuming between Israel and Syria with a new goal, a broad agreement for the region, and, it seems, a new momentum. The Palestinians will hold their first elections for a national authority this month, and the focus will shift to building an economic as well as political base for a state.

Chechnya is still sputtering with occasional bombs and gun bursts, and Algeria is still grimly murderous, but at least there are approaches to a settlement. There are other points of tension around the world, some familiar like the Korean Peninsula and West and Central Africa, some unmarked that could put bizarre, as yet unrecognized names of disaster in the headlines.

But the outbreak of violent nationalism and religious and ethnic conflicts which erupted when the end of the Cold War loosened constraints seems to be ebbing a little, in favor of a search for more material benefits.

Unesco's charter proclaims that "war starts in the minds of men," and so the organization stresses culture as the recipe for peace. In this century, however, wars have mostly been about ideas and notions of identity.

Conquest is no longer seen as the great avenue to enrichment. Modern economies offer much better ways, and it has been demonstrated that even victory can bring impoverishment.

The two overwhelming ideas which brought wars, fascism and expansive communism, are discredited. Older ideas having to do with group or community identity remain potent, but there are vast new layers of doubt about their capacity to promote heaven on earth.

If war begins in the minds of men, writes Robert Cooper, a British diplomat, "mindless materialism may be where peace begins." His provocative comment comes in a review of a book by Christopher Coker, "War and the Twentieth Century: A Study of War and Modern Consciousness." In survival, the quarterly of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Marx taught that the "contradictions

of capitalism," greed and economic rivalry, were the causes of war. It hasn't worked that way. There are no signs that greed and economic rivalry have diminished in the world. But they are not what modern wars have been about, although the continuing intense competition to export weapons does exacerbate tensions, particularly in East and Southeast Asia now where a dangerous new arms race is developing.

From Mr. Coker's book, Mr. Cooper brings this insight: "The process of modernization in the last century [in Europe] brought with it alienation and uncertainty. Salvation was sought in absolutes, in the crowd and in war. Perhaps the reason that it is easy to evoke a fear of Islam — although most Islamic societies are politically and economically unsuccessful and so hardly threatening — is that Islam represents an idea, where we have none."

And Mr. Cooper suggests that it may be reassuring that the explosive growth of Asian societies is based on "Western materialism without the ideas that paved the way to it." He says that "perhaps that means they are no threat to themselves or to us."

There is something intellectually and emotionally unsatisfying in the propo-

sition that "mindless materialism" is the best way to avoid war. But it is a healthy challenge to mushy thoughts that education and exposure to "others" can talk people out of carefully cultivated hatreds and grievances, or prevent them from committing atrocities. This terrible and dazzling century has proved the opposite.

It has also developed the means and techniques to improve the material welfare of vast numbers of people. If most lives were as "nasty, brutish and short" today as when the century began, with a global population of 2 billion, we would not be ending the century with nearly 6 billion.

André Malraux is often quoted for having said that "the 21st century will be spiritual or it will not be." But it isn't really mindless to want to live decently, and it isn't really spiritual to elevate heroic myths for killing and dying above humane life.

Perhaps a little more modesty "in the minds of men" is what is needed to chase away the demonic urge to war. Peace may not be paradise but it is still as true as when General Sherman said it that "war is hell." It looks as if more people are coming to agree on that.

© Flora Lewis.

Progress Doesn't Just Run Ahead, You Have to Help It Along

By William Pfaff

PARIS — A New Year's greeting implies hope for a better future, which in Western society is more than a convention. Progress is a tacit conviction, but a mistaken one. There is no evidence that the future will be better.

That may be a gloomy comment on which to begin 1996, but it is a point which demands to be made. Political rhetoric in most of our countries is saturated with unanalyzed ideas of automatic progress — trade means prosperity and peace; democracy is on the march worldwide; democracies do not fight one another.

Only "tribalists, terrorists, organized criminals, coup plotters, rogue states," and those who want to return to "the in-

tolerant ways of the past," stand against the march of progress. Since all of those (the list is provided by Anthony Lake, President Bill Clinton's national security adviser) are backward or "rogue" phenomena, they logically are simple exceptions to a general rule of progress.

The international scene at the start of 1996 is certainly an improvement on a year ago. To take the issues of main concern in Western capitals, the war in Yugoslavia is halted, or at worst suspended, as is the guerrilla war in Northern Ireland. The murder of Israel's prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, has provoked a decisive turn in Arab-Israeli relations, speeding

Palestinian peace and also inspiring serious new negotiations between Syria and Israel.

The U.S. Congress and administration may have shut down the government in a petty quarrel inspired by ambition and third-rate ideology, but goodwill is still tentatively at work in the great and potentially fatal American cleavages over race.

The social and economic condition of ordinary people in the Western democracies has been made increasingly fragile by the unregulated market. The great dream of European Union has darkened. The conflict of national interests in Western Europe is having more effect than at any time since the war.

Russia is deeply unstable. The senseless war in Chechnya has worsened. The Poles are on a self-destructive tack. A pernicious ethnic nationalism is influential in much of ex-Communist Europe, as well as in South Asia. Middle Eastern radicalism inspires dangerous new ideas in the West of wars of religion and culture.

Japan's economic confidence has been overturned and its established political and security policies placed in question. North Korea is ominously unstable. China persists in dogmatic despotism.

Much of sub-Saharan Africa slides towards anarchical violence and pandemic disease, its children turned into killers. In Liberia, an estimated quarter of

the warrior bands' members are under the age of 15. Ethnic slaughter stalks Rwanda and Burundi. Zaire is a (white) man-made catastrophe. Somalia is again a wasteland.

But is this not the ebb and flow of history? Perhaps, but ebb and flow is not progress. The record of the 20th century, compared to the past, is catastrophic. The 19th century invented revolutionary, ideological, nationalistic and peoples' wars. The 20th century practiced them with genocidal extravagance.

The 17th and 18th centuries' wars, by contrast, were limited and professional, concerned with dynastic interest in Europe and imperial advantage abroad. Their "genocidal" consequences for aboriginal peoples were mainly the result of disease, not industrialized murder, in the 20th-century's style.

Still, surely there has been social progress. We in the advanced industrial countries mostly live easier and more secure lives than our ancestors.

We possess the mechanisms of international law — at least, when the agency of its enforcement is lazy. Rasko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic and Slobodan Milosevic seem in no great risk of the hangman.

I bring these sad things up in order to argue that whatever progress may be, it is not automatic, nor is mankind on some staircase to happiness, as Marxists and other Utopians have always claimed. It takes work to make things better. It takes even more work to keep them from slipping back toward the abyss from which the 20th century was extricated only with great difficulty.

Progress is an ambition, not a process. No Hegelian world-spirit or benevolent Lockean logic assures us the better world of our politicians' platitudes. The truth is too cruel for that, although it is also consoling, in its way. The American historian Charles Beard, a radical in his youth and a conservative in his old age (Beard was conservative, no relative to the Gingrichs or the Grammss), was once asked what he had learned about history from a lifetime of study.

He replied that "that when darkness comes, the stars begin to shine; the bees that rob the flowers provide the honey; whom God wishes to destroy he first makes mad; and the mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small."

In such terms, I wish my readers a happy — a happier — New Year.

International Herald Tribune.

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Better to Wait for Damascus to Earn the Trust

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — For two days last week, at the secluded Wye plantation in Maryland, Israeli negotiators told representatives of Syria's dictator of the economic wonders that peace would bring to the Middle East. The Syrians listened, offering nothing.

They do well that way. Six months ago, when Israel under the cautious Yitzhak Rabin dared suggest a modest Israeli presence with electronic monitoring on the Golan Heights, the Syrians refused to talk further. Now, under the eager Shimon Peres, Israeli negotiators are finessing the subject of security. The most the Israelis say about the Golan is that nothing unacceptable to the Israeli army's high command can be offered.

But through osmosis diplomacy, the impression is left that total withdrawal is exchangeable for neighborhood. Not, as with Egypt, a "cold peace" that permeates hostility, but an arrangement with cultural exchanges, tourism, joint business ventures, regional water sharing.

By focusing more on the quality of peace than on the requirements of security, Mr. Peres hopes to create an irresistible momentum within Israeli public opinion toward giving Hafez Assad what he has long sought.

The Syrian dictator responded to these inducements by sending his team back to the table. But when told that the level of representation will determine the pace of negotiations, he balked. Israel's team is now led by Uri Savir, chief of the Peres peace process, but Syria pointedly kept its delegation at the level of ambassador.

Mr. Peres ardently desires a personal meeting of the two men at the top. Mr. Assad is likely to make Mr. Peres pay for that summit with an assurance of a total Golan giveaway to return for a minimum of gestures of public diplomacy.

But there is a contradiction in Syria's strategy. Mr. Peres cannot deliver the Golan to Syrian control without the expression of Israeli support in a referendum, perhaps wrapped in the coming election. To help Mr. Peres gain that support, Mr. Assad must offer concessions that will win over the skeptical majority in Israel.

Up to now, the Syrian may have deluded himself that American mediators will do most of that job of reassuring Israelis for him. The notion that U.S. troops can be stuck on the Syrian-occupied Golan as a trip wire is a recurring pipe dream. It won't happen.

No U.S. president could place soldiers in a potential cross fire without a guarantee from Israel never to launch a preemptive strike without U.S. permission. And Israel could never give up that degree of sovereignty on a matter of survival.

How can Mr. Assad take advantage of the window of opportunity that Mr. Peres is offering to regain all the heights? The answer, which would be met with hosannas in the United States and Israel, is to close the Damascus headquarters of terrorists and global drug dealers, while curtailing the power of Iran's Hezbollah in the part of Lebanon patrolled by 30,000 Syrian troops.

Even an Assad feint in that non-pro-terrorist direction to Secretary of State Warren Christopher on Jan. 15 would be cause for Mr. Peres to offer to abandon the Golan, triggering a bilateral summit with Bill Clinton in Damascus in late spring and an election referendum amid euphoria in the fall.

My sources say there is a 50-50 chance that Mr. Assad will make that feint in a couple of years, once in control of the high ground, he could manipulate the quality of the peace. My gut feeling is that Mr. Peres, in his haste to make history, is trading tangible strategic position for hard-to-verify hopes.

But that is for Israelis to judge. Two members of David Levy's splinter party have rejoined Likud, the general who had the northern command, Yitzhak Mordechai, will lead the change again only Golan good-bye; opinion polls are moving back toward pre-assassination levels, and Mr. Peres has twice demonstrated his talent for losing elections.

Dictator Assad — destroyer of Hamas, ally of Iran, conqueror of Lebanon, protector of terrorism — has earned the world's distrust. Let the pressure be on him to slowly, steadily earn its trust.

The New York Times.

Civic Virtue Is Still the Prescription

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — A year later, and very little has changed. My first column of 1995 began with the thought that the words for America were "civic" and "civil." Nothing would make 1995 a better year in America than a strengthening of civic life and the return of civility in our public discourse.

The thought was inspired by an essay, then fresh off the press, which has since been recognized as a classic: "Bowling Alone," written by Harvard University's Robert D. Putnam. The article, using the decline of bowling leagues as a metaphor for the atrophy of communal participation in the kind of voluntary and civic associations Tocqueville had identified as the source of America's social cohesion, is perhaps the most influential published during the past 12 months.

What I said then unfortunately has proved true: "His conclusion seems to me irrefutable. Unless more Americans start working with each other on shared civic enterprises, and learning to trust each other, the formal government of this nation will probably lurch from one credibility crisis to the next."

Lurch it has done, with the low point being the two shutdowns of government resulting from the irreconcilable differences on the budget.

But if the evidence of the dire consequences of the loss of civic spirit has become even stronger this past year, so has the recognition of the problem. Mr. Putnam himself has amplified the theme in an excellent article in the latest issue of *The American Prospect* magazine, a

liberal journal. And now he has more and more company.

On the right, Adam Meyerson, vice president of The Heritage Foundation, has just published the first issue of a revamped magazine called *Policy Review*. The *Journal of American Citizenship*. The last five words were added to the title, he told me, to signal "a new focus on the institutions of civil society that are solving problems more effectively than large, centralized, bureaucratic government."

Mr. Meyerson plans to expand on the theme, already struck by Senator Dan Coats, Republican of Indiana, and his Project for American Renewal, that devolution of power from Washington to states and localities is not enough to restore the health of American society.

From across the aisle, Senator Bill Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey, will be adding his own version of this truth in his coming book "Time Present, Time Past: A Memoir."

The case for renewing civic life and restoring core values is being made all across the political spectrum. One of the most striking examples can be found in the 20th anniversary (February) issue of the leftist magazine *Mother Jones*. Editor Jeffrey Klein, lamenting America's "loss of heart," writes: "Reforming common, high, clear moral standards is central to reinvigorating a progressive movement. We can do this if we trace our core values back through the counterculture, back through the civil rights

movement, all the way back to the American Revolution."

In one of a collection of essays in *The World & I*, a conservative journal, Lynne V. Cheney argues that "if we want American civilization to continue to flourish, we must pay attention to the ideas and ideals that have for so long served us well... We must affirm that there are ideas and ideals to which we can all subscribe, values that transcend race, gender and social circumstance."

Take note, too, of the opening words of Joel Kordkin's essay in the latest issue of *The New Democrat*, the publication of the Democratic Leadership Council: "No wound has afflicted the Democratic Party so deeply as its divorce from religious experience and community. In the name of opposing religious dogmatism, it has embraced a morally relative dogma that many Americans find shallow and uninspiring."

It would be fatuous to suggest that this emphasis on civic life and common values is enough to end the policy debate now wracking Washington. Benjamin R. Barber, in the introduction to the first of a series of essays on "legislating civil society," published by Rutgers University, argues that the budget debate is too narrowly defined, failing to recognize that "the federal government can provide more fertile ground in which civil society can grow."

But all this discussion points toward the restoration of social trust, civic institutions and civil debate as the sine qua non of a healthy society. That will be as true this year as it was last.

The Washington Post.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS

1896: Paris New Year

PARIS — New Year's Day, with all its hand-shaking, congratulating, visiting and tipping is over at last, and Paris awakes this morning (Jan. 2) to the serious business of 1896. Visits to relatives and friends and a stroll along the boulevards took up yesterday. Omnibuses were crowded and the sidewalks were thronged with promenaders. At the Elysee, Ministers were received at the Salon Doré by the President of the Republic. The President then went to the Luxembourg and the Palais Bourbon to return the visits of the Vice-President of the Senate and the President of the Chamber.

1921: Weapons Ahoj

NEW YORK — The year's collection of blackjacks, brass knuckles, revolvers, knives and other weapons taken from criminals were loaded onto a wagon

at Police Headquarters and delivered to a police boat for burial, three miles at sea. The law provides for this disposal of weapons. There were 1,400 weapons, including machine guns and army revolvers. Some had been the favorite weapons of murderers who went to the electric chair.

1946: New Global Era

LONDON — Sir Lawrence Bragg, professor of experimental physics at Cambridge University, predicted today (Jan. 1), that atomic energy would "bring about a world state." "Nothing else is now possible," he told a citizens' meeting for youth. "This new energy is the final step in joining humanity together." Bragg, who won the Nobel physics prize in 1915, added, "Things are happening now which happen only in every fifty, hundred or 500,000 years in the world's history."

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.
Tel.: (1) 41.43.93.00. Fax: (1) 41.43.92.10. Adv.: (1) 41.43.92.12. Internet: IHT@earthlink.net
Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Cantonment Rd., Singapore 0511. Tel: (65) 472-7768. Fax: (65) 274-2134
Mng. Dir. Asia: Rolf D. Knappe, 50 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong. Tel: (852) 2922-1191. Fax: (852) 2922-1192
Gen. Mgr. Germany: T. Schiller, Friedrichstr. 15, 10117 Berlin. Tel: (49) 30 27 67 53. Fax: (49) 30 27 73 10
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Russian Tea Room Closes in New York: Thanks for the Memories

By Alex Witchel
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Two beautifully dressed women, brimming with hair bleach and entitlement, balk at the front table being offered for lunch. Since it is that rare day at the Russian Tea Room when no celebrities are on display, it is gently explained to them that a front table is indeed desirable.

"Oh, we didn't know!" one cries. "We're new." They settle down happily with sudden pride of placement.

It was late in the game to be new at the Russian Tea Room, a New York institution since 1927, that closed, in its current incarnation, on Sunday. Its new owner, Warner LeRoy, who owns Tavern on the Green, plans to demolish the building and reopen in 1997. He says the main dining room will look the same.

If Faith Stewart-Gordon, 63, the restaurant's owner, heard the exchange with the two women at the next table one recent day, she didn't let on. The cheerful yet mild exterior she presented here for the last 38 years proved the perfect foil for the vainest stars, loudest comedians, most preening socialites, who claimed this room as their own. While her incongruous Southern accent lulled customers to comfort, she missed nothing, eyes everywhere at once.

It took time, of course, to perfect these skills. Stewart-Gordon's first husband, Sidney Kaye, the restaurant's previous owner, taught her a great deal during their 10-year marriage, before his death in 1967.

Clark Wolf, a food and restaurant consultant who worked for Stewart-Gordon, says: "Sidney would give her signals. He'd say, 'You remember Leonard Bernstein, don't you?' And she would say, 'Why no, how nice to meet you,' and he would just roll his eyes. Faith is very genuine. And she's never been overly impressed by the glitz."

The question everyone is asking is: Why now? Stewart-Gordon has had countless offers to sell the restaurant and always resisted. What changed?

"Timing, I guess," she says, sipping a glass of chardonnay. Her red jacket and multicolored pin are perfectly offset by the red banquettes, greek walls, gold samovars and trademark Christmas tinsel wrapped around the Art Deco sconces.

"Warner was after me for a few years, and I thought, 'Well, yes, maybe it is time,'" she goes on. "I was always determined to walk out of here. I knew restaurateurs who stayed on to the very last, and I don't think it's a good idea."

"Things are changing now. It's become a theme park on 57th Street. Warner can do that, I feel, and it won't bother him at all. But at this point in my life, I don't want to do everything all over again."

Is she eating all the caviar she can before it disappears? She laughs. "You'd think that owning this restaurant you'd eat a ton, but you only think you would," she says. "A lot of South Americans order it. They come in and order 1 pound of caviar and a bottle or two of vodka. We had a \$6,000 check recently. For some people that's their dream. For that money, I would rather buy a car—a small car, I guess, but still..."

Part of Stewart-Gordon's success, Wolf says, has been due to the challenge she set herself early on: "to make the restaurant look the way people remembered it, not the way it was."

"All that brass molding and those beveled brasserie mirrors came over time," he says, "so the place was always a little shinier, more polished, more finished."

She made other changes as well. In 1970, she abolished the restaurant's policy prohibiting single women from drinking at the bar. "You just didn't see perfectly respectable, nice women sitting around bars in midtown Manhattan,

though I'm sure they did in the Village, and all that," Stewart-Gordon says. "Betty Friedan was an old friend of mine and asked why didn't we just change the policy? So we did, just like that. I felt like we were growing up."

Also in 1970, she married James Stewart-Gordon, a writer for Reader's Digest. They divorced in 1991.

Through it all, she kept running the restaurant, adding a successful Sunday night cabaret series in 1990.

"It's funny," she says now, "that in one year the Four Seasons has been sold, '21' was sold again, Lutèce, the Russian Tea Room. I think often the life of a restaurant is a generational thing. It keeps going as long as that generation runs it. Then it either dies or changes into something else."

HOW was the Russian Tea Room different in the old days? What was it like? "Zero to Motel used to do the most outrageous things," she recalls. "Harold Clurman would sit up front with his whole coterie, and Zero would come by, and no one would pay any attention to him, so he would drop his pants. He was prone to that. He would also put a napkin on his arm and go up to someone's table and say, 'The special today is peasant under glass.' Then he would go out onto the street and get on his knees, saying, 'Please come into the Russian Tea Room,' begging passersby for their business."

Jules Munshin, who was one of the three sailors with Frank Sinatra in "On the Town," would stop there at the front and take a hard-boiled egg brought in with him and tap it on the marble until somebody seated him. It just drove Sidney crazy. And then Stella Adler would breeze by and say some dreadful thing to Clurman, who was her ex-husband, and march on." She laughs. "A lot of the movie people now seem fairly tame in comparison."



Faith Stewart-Gordon, owner of the Russian Tea Room for 38 years. Why did she sell? "Timing, I guess."

Misty Visions From Two Bygone Worlds

By Herbert Muschamp
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A toy train races around a bottle-shaped track in front of a glowing hearth that's the look of "Absolut Tradition" depicted in the holiday ad for a brand of vodka.

The picture is more complex than it looks at first glance. A hearth symbolizes stability. Trains represent mobility. And the conflict between the moving and the fixed is a major modern predicament: the insistence on self-improvement frustrates the desire for roots. Here are two books that handily illustrate that predicament, collections of photographs that serve the past up with a twist: "Mediterranean" (Aperture) by Mimmo Jodice, and "Home Away From Home" (Bulfinch Press) by John Margolies.

This being a season closely identified with childhood, some readers may be charged by a book on architecture that devotes a chapter to "Sleazebotels." On the other hand, there is something so endearingly innocent about Margolies's presentation of roadside vice in his new book, an illustrated history of the American motel, that some readers may find themselves yearning for the kinder, simpler sleaze of yesteryear.

Margolies, America's premier chronicler of architectural kitsch, is known for books that celebrate the weird delights of miniature golf courses, fading Catskills resorts and dilapidated roadside

diners. Here, the photographer and writer spins the reader through a history of the buildings designed to reconcile the American love of movement with the need for a night's rest. The tour progresses from glamorous homes on wheels that were popular in the 1920s, to today's oo-fills accommodations at Motel 6.

Margolies is not an unbiased reporter. His heart lies with the one-of-a-kind, mom-and-pop operations that flourished before the advent of interstate highways and the standardized motel chains they gave rise to. Here are motels in the shape of zeppelins, train cars and wigwags; cabins made from petrified wood and converted wine casks; a coffee shop inside a giant percolator; a motel office housed in a miniature replica of the state capitol building. A separate chapter is devoted to the fabulous Madonna Inn, the Taj Mahal of motels in San Luis Obispo, California, with its theme guest rooms, waterfall urinals and "Madonna pink" tinted sandwich bread.

In a way, Margolies's vision harks back to the fantasy that Europeans constructed around the New World in the age of Rousseau: the New Golden Land of noble savages unspoiled by the Old World's cultivated ways. Even the sleazebotels—also known as "hot sheets," "hot pillow" or "Mr. and Mrs. Jones motels"—have a naive charm, though, as Margolies says, these way stations for randy motorists once called down the wrath of J. Edgar Hoover.

The twist in this road saga is that the colorful places Margolies celebrates helped to pave the way for the bland, standardized hospitality chains of today. By the 1950s, the car had largely displaced the house as the real American home; chain motels came off the assembly line, too.

In "Mediterranean," by Mimmo Jodice, a Neapolitan photographer, we seem to be looking at the calamitous results of a vice squad raid on sleazebotels and Rome: the battered walls of Villa Jovis, Tiberius's pleasure palace on Capri; bronze and marble statues with gouged-out eyes and hacked-off arms; crumbling amphitheaters where the roar of thousands once drowned out the screams of martyred Christians.

Jodice's pictures, which can also be seen in a current exhibition at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, filters this ruined pagan world through a golden romantic haze. Thanks to darkroom manipulations, the photographs

keep the viewer mindful of the sea. Vapor suffuses the air, creating a gloriously diffuse light. The photographer's misty, his muted blasts of solar radiance, obliterate the political boundaries that have carved up the shores of the Mediterranean into sovereign states.

AIRBRUSHED out, too, is the international tourist horde that frolics over these shores. Jodice depicts a mythical place, a homogeneous Mediterranean of the imagination. Wars, winds, pillage and time have bruised the stoics, yet they remain undefined by Club Med. It is as if endlessly lapping water has effaced the national borders, dissolved the plastic Evian bottles, washed the sun worshippers out to sea. What's left behind is a romantic intertwining of wholeness and solitude: the oceanic sensation of merger between a self and its surroundings.

The twist here is similar to

the paradox in Margolies's book. This "Mediterranean" is part of the dream that has lured travelers for two centuries, culminating in today's tourist stampede. This is the romantically weathered face that has launched a million sightseeing boats and floating restaurants into Homer's wine-dark seas. Not one living person figures in these pictures. But last summer automobile traffic along the Amalfi coast was so heavy, a friend reported, that roadblocks were set up to turn back tourists lacking written proof of hotel reservations.

It's safe to assume that few of these people hit the road just to see other cars. Like Jodice, they were eager to capture these sights with a camera. Jodice is not an average tourist; his pictures are scarcely holiday snaps. Still, it's tempting to interpret the scars and fissures in the stones he photographs as an effect of the camera itself, of its power to pulverize the environment into photogenic slices.

CHESS

By Robert Byrne

FAILING to show up for the big game is the stuff of nightmares. But Viswanathan Anand, the Indian grandmaster, did the unthinkable and failed to show up for the first round of the Intel Quickplay Grand Prix in Paris.

He was supposed to play his two games with Garry Kasparov at 1:30 P.M. But he somehow muddled that into 3:30 P.M., and when he showed up at that hour for the first game, he learned he had been forfeited. So he had to play the second game of the two-game knockout knowing he could not afford a draw.

In their title match, when Kasparov had Black, he used only his favorite Najdorf Variation Sicilian with 5...a6 or the Dragon with 5...g6. Here, he shows us, with 5...Nc6, that he is willing to face the Richter-Rauzer Attack with 6 Bg5. In playing the sharp 8...0-0, Kasparov was offering an old pawn sacrifice that White can take him up on with 9 Ndb5 Qa5 10 Bf6 Bf5 11 Nd6, but after the thorny, heavily worked-over

11...Rd8 12 f4 e5! 13 Qd5 Qc7 14 f5 Nd4 15 Ndh5 Qa5 16 Qc4 Bf5! 17 e7 Rac8 18 Qa4 Qa4 19 Na4 Nb3 20 ab Bg5 21 Rd2! a6! 22 Nbc3 Ba2 23 Kh1 Bc3 24 Nc3 Rc3! 25

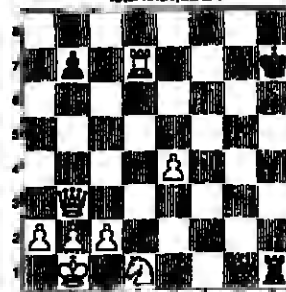
21 Rb4 Be4 22 Ne4 fe 23 Rde4 Rf6 24 Re7 h5 brings about an even ending.

Anand bored in with 17 Qh7 K7 18 Rb6. His 19 Rhd6, however, fell prey to Kasparov's nice conception, a queco sacrifice with 19...f3!

20 Kh1 Qd6! 21 Rd6 to set up a powerful advanced passed pawn with 21...f4.

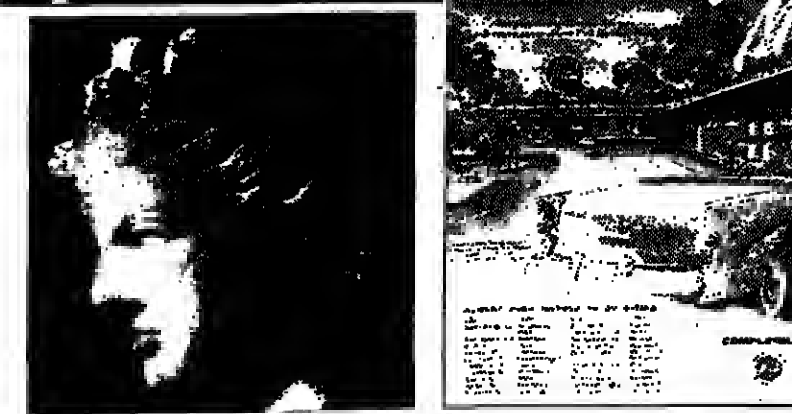
On 26 Rd7, Kasparov found the only move, 26...Kf8, and after 27 Qf5 Kg8 28 Qf3 Rf8, Anand was denied a perpetual check, although he had won back some material to hold a knight and pawn for a rook. After 29 Qh3 Kh7, Kasparov had a winning attack. There might have followed 30 Qd3 Rf1 31 e5 Kh6 32 Rd6 g6 33 d2 Qg5 34 Qg5 Kf5 35 Kc1 Kf5 36 e6 Kc5 37 Rd2 Ke6, with a hopeless endgame for Black. Anand gave up.

Through 15 Bg4, this game followed long-established analysis, but instead of 15...Bg5 16 Qh2 Bh6 17 Bf3 Qf6, Kasparov produced the oew 15...Bg4! After 16 Qh2, f5 was forced, because 16...f6? loses at once to 17 g6. Theo 17 g6 was to be answered by 17...Bb4, when 18 Rd4 f3 19 gf Bf3 20 Qh4 Qh4



Final Position

SICILIAN DEFENSE			
White	Black	White	Black
1 e4	c5	15 Qd2	e7
2 Nf3	c6	16 Qd3	f6
3 Bb1	Nf6	17 Bf3	Qf6
4 Qd2	Nc6	18 Qd3	g6
5 Bg4	Bg4	19 Qd3	h5
6 Bg5	Bg4	20 Qd3	h5
7 Qd3	Bg4	21 Qd3	h5
8 Qd3	Bg4	22 Qd3	h5
9 Qd3	Bg4	23 Qd3	h5
10 Qd3	Bg4	24 Qd3	h5
11 Qd3	Bg4	25 Qd3	h5
12 Qd3	Bg4	26 Qd3	h5
13 Qd3	Bg4	27 Qd3	h5
14 Qd3	Bg4	28 Qd3	h5



Above, the amphitheater near Naples; bottom left, sculpture of the Imperial Nymph at Castello di Baia, Italy. At bottom right, an Albert Pick chain motel.

BOOKS

WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Robert Albertson, of CBS News in Paris, is reading "The Spanish Civil War" by Hugh Thomas. "It's a fascinating old classic, not very well written." (Jeannine Dillon, IHT)



JERUSALEM: An Archaeological Biography

By Hershel Shanks. Illustrated. 256 pages. \$45. Random House.

Reviewed by Richard Bernstein

LIKE almost everything else in Israel, archaeology has at times been a cause of fierce conflict. Very Orthodox Jews have mounted angry, even violent protests against certain digs when they believed the bones resting in ancient graveyards would be disturbed.

A bit over a decade ago, one dig at a corner of the City of David, the original site of Jerusalem, aroused the Orthodox to such bitter protests that the archaeologists had to be protected each day by a platoon of Israeli soldiers.

The disputes, of course, are not only religious. Ancient history is also fraught with political meaning, dealing as it does with the origins of people and the truthfulness of their foundation beliefs.

When it was proved, for

example, that Mount Zion, the western ridge just below the present Jerusalem walls, was settled by Jews during the period of the First Temple rather than 600 years later, as some had believed, the Jewish claim on the entire city gained emotional support.

The argument over the date of the settlement of Mount Zion had until then been riddled with suspicions that scholars were influenced by pro- or anti-Israeli feelings.

For those reasons alone it is good to have Hershel Shanks's book, a sober, straightforward, politically neutral summary of the amazing history of Jerusalem as revealed by the archaeological findings of the last century and more.

Drawing on the books and articles of the many scholars who worked in the millennial dust of the Holy City, Shanks tells Jerusalem's story in stone and papyrus, illustrating it with a marvelous collection of photographs and drawings.

More literary histories of Jerusalem have been written than this one by Shanks, who is a workmanlike but not a stylish writer. But the issues

he addresses will grip any mind imbued with a sense of history.

Where was the original Jerusalem? How did King David conquer it? What was the strategic purpose of Warren's Shaft, the mysterious tunnel that ends in a pool of water near the Gihon Spring?

Other questions: Where exactly are Golgotha and Calvary? Who built the Dome of the Rock, the gold-domed mosque that has stood for the last 1,300 years near the site where Solomon's Temple had been for more than 1,000 years until the Muslim con-

quest of Jerusalem?

Shanks, in his temperate way, takes on these questions and others, always presenting the evidence for different interpretations of the facts and reviewing the way historians have changed their views in light of new findings.

At times, when he runs into unresolvable questions, he simply leaves it up to the reader. This is the case with King David's conquest of Jerusalem roughly 3,000 years ago.

Along his long route, Shanks cites several major historical mistakes and these alone are worth the price of

his book. One durable misconception has it that Mount Zion itself, larger and more impressive than the City of David, was the original site of Jerusalem. It wasn't.

Another is that the Western Wall is what remains of the First Temple, when it is actually what remains of a much later retaining wall.

Among the most fascinating portions of the review of the evidence are those dealing with the holy sites of Christianity. He gives the reasons for believing that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher has the best claim to being the burial place of Jesus, just as Christian belief has it.

In his final pages, Shanks quotes the Israeli poet Yehuda Amichai, who spoke of how "from time to time a new shipment of history arrives and the houses and towers are its packing materials." It is hard work, painstakingly brushing the dirt off what remains of each historical shipment, but this book reminds us of how much we owe to those who have done it.

Richard Bernstein is on the staff of The New York Times.

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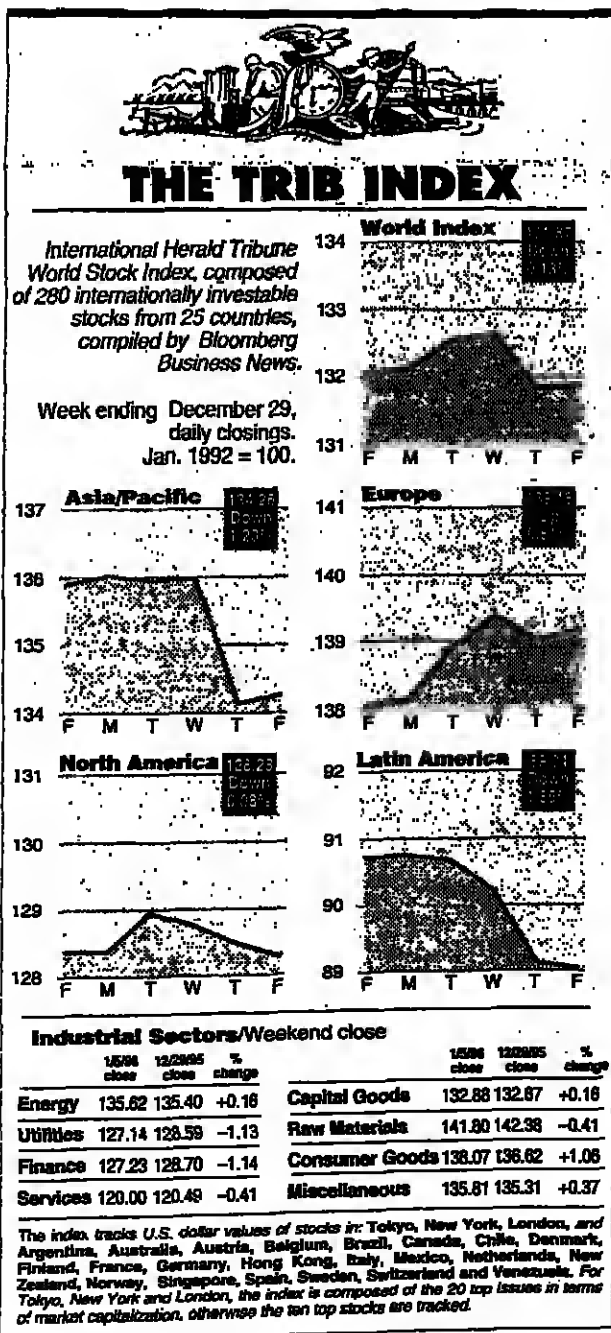
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... ..

By Lawrence M. Fisher
New York Times Service

With research labs and design centers in New Jersey and California, the U.S. unit is increasingly responsible for original product development and engineering. Sony Electronics also manufactures many products, from professional video cameras in Florida to memory chips in Texas to color television sets in Mexico.

See SONY, Page 10

[illegible]

By Seth Faison
New York Times Service

Record Year

Germany forced the global Inc. to shut access to about 20 month because Bonn consid-

on-line service CompuServe
100 Internet bulletin boards last
year had their content obscene.

K. Merg

advisers Emboldened by their success, most S

See ELLE Page 10

See ELLE, Page 10

By Erik Ipsen
International Herald Tribune

In fact, most British M&A advisers **Emboldened**

... that mirrored the
... ant corporate market in

... of \$45 billion worth of acquisitions set in the boom year of 1989 would outlive this century. Those ex-

See MERGER, Page 10

By Bernard Weinraub
New York Times Service

Sylvester Stallone, Kevin Costner, Alec Baldwin, Steven Seagal, the director John Hughes and writer-producers from "Chicago Hope," "The Simpsons" and "Home Improvement."

American moviegoers, earning an estimated \$19.7 million over the four-day New Year's weekend, industry sources said. The Associated Press reported from Los Angeles.

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Austria	A Sch.	6,000	41	3,300
Belgium	B Fr.	14,000	41	7,700
Denmark	D. kr.	3,400	33	1,900
Finland	F.M.	2,400	40	1,200
France	F F.	1,950	40	1,070
Germany	D M.	700	38	385
Greece	Dr.	75,000	41	41,500
Great Britain	S.	210	32	115
Ireland	S.H.	250	32	125
Italy	Lira	470,000	34	240,000
Luxembourg	L.F.	14,000	36	7,700
Netherlands	fl	770	40	420
Norway	N Kr.	3,500	40	1,900
Portugal	Esc.	47,000	44	26,000
Spain	Ptas.	48,000	41	26,500
Swand delivery, Madrid	Ptas.	55,000	39	26,500
Switzerland	S Fr.	3,100	43	1,600
Switzerland	S Kr.	2,500	36	2,000
Switzerland	S Fr.	610	48	335
For other European countries	S US	485		245

Oldest U.S. Regulator Reaches the End of its Road

By David E. Sanger
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — There was a time, long forgotten in this city, when few arms of government instilled more fear, hatred or anger than the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The robber barons of the American railroad industry fumed against its interference in their affairs.

Teddy Roosevelt spent much of his first term fighting to expand its once vast authority, and Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. and his brethren argued endlessly over the scope of the ICC's power to dictate to the states.

When the lawyers who argued in front of the ICC held a convention in Washington in 1930, Herbert Hoover invited them over to the White House for a picnic on the South Lawn.

For years those glory days have been just echoes in the empty hallways of the commission's ornate headquarters. And with the arrival of the new year, something happened to the country's oldest regulatory agency that almost never happens in Washington. It died, at the age of 106.

It was a slow and painful death. Deregulation a decade and a half ago stripped the ICC of most of its powers to set transportation rates, except in the rare case when a single railroad or trucking firm monopolized a route.

But until just days ago, clerks were still wheeling tons of paper past the ICC's towering columns on Constitution Avenue and into its moldy Tariff Examination Room — endless, computer-generated lists of the charges for taking sugar or wool or auto parts between, say, Seattle and Boston. Almost every page was stuffed, unread, into filing cabinets.

Nonetheless, the commission survived innumerable assassination attempts. Richard Nixon tried to merge the ICC out of existence in 1970. A decade ago, after the deregulation of American transportation was well under way, Ronald Reagan tried to eliminate its budget. Eventually he gave up.

Sheer inertia, bureaucratic guile and lobbying by companies that thought twice about what life would be like in a completely competitive marketplace resulted in reprieve after

reprieve. The commission shrank without disappearing. When the last wave of layoffs hit a few weeks ago it was reduced to 300 job-seeking souls, from a peak of 2,400 employees in the early 1960s.

President Clinton signed the commission's death warrant on Friday night, the White House said.

Now, there is only one ghostlike remnant of the ICC. About 190 employees, including three remaining commissioners, will be transferred to the Transportation Department, which is taking over a few functions that Congress still maintains to be essential.

Chief among them is protecting workers whose jobs are being wiped out by the merger fever sweeping the railroad industry. The

By the 1960s, critics were charging that the ICC was anti-consumer, dooming it. But it was a slow, painful death.

Transportation Department also acquires the power to approve or disapprove rail mergers. But the organization that pioneered government regulation — busting trusts, issuing safety regulations and reluctantly desegregating trains and buses that moved across state lines — will be reduced to a small office within a vast Cabinet department.

"It makes you realize Washington isn't a very sentimental place," said Gail McDonald, the last chairwoman of the commission, who had the foresight to find another job earlier this year — as head of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corp. — when it became clear that the Clinton administration had finally bought the ICC a one-way ticket to nowhere.

Mrs. McDonald briefly put up a fight to "save this grand old place, to make it contemporary." But she gave up when she discovered "there was just a hunger in Washington to get rid of something."

In fact, the Republican majority in Congress had its eye on much bigger game this year. It had hoped to kill off the Commerce

Department, the Energy Department and the Education Department but failed. And while both the Clinton administration and the Republicans are claiming credit for the ICC's demise, the savings are chiefly symbolic: The commission's budget was a mere \$40 million last year, no more than a rounding error by the standards of the current battle to balance the budget.

Even before the ICC issued its last order a few days before Christmas — a permit for Santa Claus to operate "as a common carrier by two-runner sleigh" as long as he "renders reasonably continuous and adequate service to the public" — other bureaucrats were moving into the commission's offices, mostly from the Internal Revenue Service across the street.

No one seems to know what the IRS plans to do with the bronze busts that sit under the building's rotunda, commemorating onetime regulators like Judge Thomas McIntyre Cooley, the first ICC chairman, who was hailed by The New York Times a century ago as "the father of the Interstate Commerce Bill" of 1887. The other day Judge Cooley's regulatory descendants looked like lost souls, dumping yellowed binders of shipping tariffs and long-forgotten administrative law decisions into huge bins.

"It's been said because people here were trying to get a big job done," Lillian Bateman, a 22-year employee, said recently as she emptied her office on the third floor. "I don't know why we were such a target, because we were small even when we were large."

The ICC's critics suggest it is responsible for its own demise. The commission once heard testimony that took up 53,000 pages to transcribe before deciding the proper rates to set for shipping grain. It took 11 years to come to a decision on a railroad merger. That example was cited time and again by those who wanted to kill off the commission, even though the process has been radically streamlined in recent years.

When the ICC began, its real purpose was to break up concentrations of wealth in the hands of the country's railroad magnates.

Protecting consumers or workers was almost an afterthought. But starting at the turn of the century its powers expanded dramatically. It regulated the burgeoning telephone industry until the creation of the Federal Com-

munications Commission, and it gained authority over trucks, buses, and virtually anything else that moved across state lines.

Until the commission's dissolution, consumer complaints about moving companies, for example, had to go through the ICC.

But by the 1960s critics began to charge that the commission was actually anti-consumer, keeping prices artificially high and becoming far too close to the industry it was supposed to regulate.

There were corruption charges, and in the end it was the pro-consumer movement that pressed for deregulation and doomed the agency.

But for all their complaints about intrusive government regulation, many railroad and trucking companies wanted to keep the commission alive. Submitting all those rate notifications was burdensome, but it assured that competitors would get early warning of price changes, which stabilized prices.

Railroads and trucking firms learned how to manipulate the commission to slow deregulation, and the price-cutting that resulted from free competition.

The American Trucking Association once maintained a cozy office inside the ICC headquarters, from which it coordinated a campaign to make sure the ICC did not carry out its deregulatory mandate too quickly.

The arguments over the pace of deregulation became so bitter that in the 1980s the commissioners made no secret of the fact that they detested one another. They refused to meet in the same room, and issued decisions by memo.

One commissioner got himself on front pages around the country in 1982 by declaring that bribes in the trucking business were just "discounts" or "rebates," and adding that there was no reason a convicted felon could not operate a trucking firm from prison.

In the end, even the defenders of the ICC — who included Vice President Al Gore when he was a senator — finally abandoned it. That left it vulnerable to Republicans who viewed it as a symbol of everything that is bloated in the federal government.

"This is the dinosaur that wouldn't die," Representative John Kasich, Republican of Ohio, who has led the balanced-budget charge, said not long ago.

SHORT COVER

Very briefly:

India Securities Firm to Sell Stake

NEW DELHI (Reuters) — State Trading Corp., one of India's biggest trading houses, plans to sell up to 40 percent of its equity and be listed on the country's stock exchanges by March, Chairman B.K. Chaturvedi said. He said this weekend that New Delhi, which owns 91 percent of the company's equity, would reduce its share to 51 percent. He did not say how or to whom the stake would be sold.

Fire Wrecks the Home of the Yugo

BELGRADE (Reuters) — Fire wrecked the main warehouse of rump Yugoslavia's largest auto factory, which produces the Yugo car, but caused no casualties, Serbian officials said.

An investigation was under way into the cause of the blaze Monday at the Zastava plant at Kragujevac, about 100 kilometers (60 miles) south of Belgrade. The factory turns out about 100,000 cars and 20,000 trucks a year.

Forte Values Hotels at Price of Bid

LONDON (Reuters) — Forte PLC, the subject of a £3.3 billion (\$5.12-billion) hostile takeover bid from Granada Group PLC, said its hotels portfolio alone had been valued at £3.3 billion.

The company said Monday that the valuation, by Christie & Co. and valid as of Dec. 15, reflected what the properties would bring in individual sales, rather than the higher amounts likely to be achieved by portfolio sales.

Mediobanca Buying Ferruzzi Stake

MILAN (Combined Dispatches) — Mediobanca SpA has for the first time announced in advance an acquisition: a further 10 percent of Ferruzzi Finanziaria SpA at a cost of 250 billion lire (\$358 million).

The acquisition, announced Friday, would make the Italian bank the top shareholder of Ferruzzi, a widely diversified conglomerate. The stock market regulator Consof required Mediobanca to make the offer public. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

Banks Buy Into Berlusconi Empire

MILAN (Combined Dispatches) — Six Italian banks led by Istituto Mobiliare Italiano SpA paid 370 billion lire for 5.49 percent of Editoriale Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's television and advertising company, Mediaset SpA.

The Friday sale was part of the mogul's effort to sell control of his media interests. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

Bids Sparse In India's Phone Sale

NEW DELHI — India's telephone privatization program failed to attract any bids for eight of 13 regions on the auction block Monday in an apparent fresh setback to the government's embattled deregulation plan.

The auction came a week before the Supreme Court is to hear a legal challenge to the phone service privatization program of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

The government, which controls the basic phone network, was forced to hold the tender after it said bids for licenses in eight zones at an auction last year were too low.

New bids were required in another five because the consortium with the highest bids was forced to withdraw because of a cap on the number of licenses it could hold.

ELLE: Fashion Glossy Makes Inroads in China

Continued from Page 9

Mr. Ning said large-scale investments were possible, as were small-scale projects. What is harder to do, he said, is something in between, with neither the door-opening finances of a large project nor the relative manageability of a small one.

At \$1.50 a copy, Elle is not cheap in a country where the average urban salary hovers around \$100 a month. But its price has remained steady for three years, while other magazines' prices have climbed.

"Anyone who can afford our magazine is someone our advertisers want to reach," said Luo Zhaodan, the director of Elle's China edition, pointing to the ads for Estee Lauder cosmetics, Christian Dior perfume and Rado watches that fill the pages of the magazine.

Mr. Luo, who edits the magazine with a modest staff in a cramped office at the Shanghai Translation Publishing House, noted that Elle's China edition commanded higher ad rates, an average of \$6,700 a page, than its sister magazine in Hong Kong, because the market would bear it.

Although Ms. Bredelle said that Elle's locally tailored editions were carefully prepared to cater to the tastes of a specific market, some readers of Elle here say the content is as flashy as its models are slim — 70 percent of the articles are translated from French and

English versions of the magazine.

"I buy it to look at the advertisements," said Ma Ying, 29, a real estate agent. "Fashions change every few months, and I want to see them."

Distribution remains a challenge. Nearly half of Elle's readers are in Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou, China's largest cities. But the magazine is gradually spreading to 200 other cities, Mr. Luo said, including Lhasa, Tibet. "We have eight subscribers in Tibet," Mr. Luo said proudly.

Like other properly licensed magazines in China, he added, Elle does not require a prepublication review from the authorities, who nonetheless carefully monitor its editorial content.

"If there's any problem," Mr. Luo said, "we'll hear from them."

He is careful to make sure that the sometimes scantily clad models in photographs do not come too close to what the authorities, or his readers, might consider pornography.

He said that at this point he had never been censored.

Mr. Luo goes so far as to say that his magazine has been a force in women's taste in clothing in China's largest cities.

"Women dress so much better than they did a few years ago," he said. "I'd like to think we had something to do with that."

MERGE: Britain Chalks Up a Record Year for Acquisitions in '95

Continued from Page 9

peations were based in large part on the widespread belief that 1995 had been a terrible mistake, at least in retrospect.

"A lot of deals in 1989 sprang from cheap money and the prospect of financial engineering, and a lot of the big deal-deers of that time have since come to grief," said Marcus Agius, vice chairman of Lazard Brothers. "Hopefully the quality of deals in the last 12 months has been much higher."

This would seem to be the case, and some analysts see strong commercial logic and sound financing techniques in the current boom. Low and falling interest rates and access to cheap financing have once again underpinned the urge to merge. But the amount of leverage — of debt taken on to accomplish the task — is far less this time around since more companies have been able to dip into their own rich cash hordes.

But the key difference is the rationale.

The year 1995 was the year of the so-called strategic merger as banks, power companies and telecommunications firms snapped up rivals to create larger entities with greater economies of scale and efficiency. Absent were corporate grabs at totally unrelated companies, motivated by confidence of the quick riches to be gained by stripping out a few good assets and spurred by the belief that only the ultimate seeker to keep corporate leverage low.

In spite of those theoretically reassuring distinctions, some observers fear that this boom will also ultimately litter the landscape with its share of wreckage. "Most deals work out well for the sellers," said Stephen Waters, co-chief executive of Morgan Stanley in London. "A lot fewer work out well for the buyers."

Some studies have estimated that success rates as low as 35 out of 100. Roger Monson, equity strategist for Daiwa Eu-

rope, said that those odds were not so bad.

But even sound strategic are not enough to assure success in a business that M&A advisers themselves quietly concede should still carry a stern health warning. They note dangers lurking in every acquisition — from the possibility of over-paying, to the daunting task of melding together two different companies and cultures over time.

Others insist that the gains envisioned by most buyers are simply not worth the risk. They note that much of the current mergers boom owes its existence to nothing greater or more productive than a desire to boost profits by slashing costs. "For a banker the most exciting thing is to be able to put your hand over your heart and say that this deal that I have done adds value, that it will create higher revenues," said the head of M&A at a large European bank. "Frankly, there are not really many — if any — of those deals around now."

SONY: With PC Foray, U.S. Electronics Unit Gets a Higher Profile

Continued from Page 9

Mr. Yankowski, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology electrical engineer by training, said the rollout of the first Sony-brand personal computer will be part of a series of digital offerings.

The computer, using an Intel Corp. chip and Windows software from Microsoft Corp., will join the Magic Link personal digital assistant introduced in 1994; the Playstation video-game machine introduced last fall, and a range of digital video cameras and videocassette recorders just entering the market.

What all of these products have in common is the presence of a microprocessor inside. All translate human expression — whether music, video or data — into the ones and zeros of digital computer code. And all will be capable of being linked in simple networks.

Coupling a digital version of Sony's popular Handycam video camera with a personal computer, for example, will allow home users to perform the kind of real-time editing now only possible with professional equipment.

"Once you have a digital format established across your audiovisual products, they can easily talk back and forth to our computer and communications

products," Mr. Yankowski said. "Worldwide, the audiovisual business is slowing down; we need to regenerate and add new technology and features to these products."

Although Sony has until now kept itself above the rough and tumble of the personal computer fray, the company has been a major producer of computer components for many years: a leading producer of monitors, the inventor of the 3.5-inch floppy disk and a co-inventor of the CD-ROM.

And it has made a few complete computers under other brand names, including laptops for Apple Computer Inc. and Dell Computer Corp.

So while other consumer electronics companies are also rapidly embracing digital technology, and some computer companies are branching into consumer appliances, analysts say Sony is particularly well-positioned to lead the convergence of these fields.

It has been quickly adding computer capabilities to its audiovisual products for years. The company understands the consumer marketplace far better than the established personal computer vendors.

Sony announced in November its agreement with Intel to develop per-

sonal computers and related products jointly for the consumer market.

"They'll be able to take this new relationship with Intel and graft in multimedia and audiovisual components that they've proven with millions of consumers," said Richard Dougherty, the director of the market research firm Envisioning Group. "They have a long-range view that many of their computer competition can't afford."

Still, entering the personal computer business means accepting the razor-thin (and at times, nonexistent) profit margins that have left many of the major computer vendors awash in red ink. Although Sony brings a brand equity and an expertise in industrial design to the business that few other makers even aspire to, analysts say it will still have to compete on the lowest common denominator of the business: price.

"We believe they will bring out a fully loaded, multimedia PC for under \$1,000," said Tim Bajarin, president of the consulting firm Creative Strategies, which is based in Cupertino, California. "For them to come in this late and try to capture any of the traditional PC market would be futile. They want the next 20 to 25 million homes that will buy PCs in the next five years."

Most Active International Bonds

The 250 most active international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ending Oct. 13. Prices supplied by Telekurs.

Rnk	Name	Cpn	Maturity	Price	Yield
126	Germany	5%	02/22/99	102.050	5.2200
127	Thailand	6%	04/23/03	104.050	6.2400
128	Germany	7%	02/21/00	118.800	6.9900
129	Germany	6%	02/22/97	104.040	6.1700
140	Germany	6%	03/29/96	104.390	5.8700
144	Germany	5%	02/28/99	103.990	5.5300
152	Germany	6%	03/29/97	102.510	5.9600
160	Germany	6%	02/29/99	105.190	5.8200
161	Germany	6%	05/02/02	111.820	7.1500
162	Thailand	5%	01/14/99	102.040	4.9000
165	Germany	6%	02/29/97	102.570	6.0000
170	Thailand	5%	02/24/96	103.610	5.4300
171	Germany	5%	11/29/97	102.610	5.1200
174	Germany	5%	02/29/97	102.410	5.3700
177	Germany	6%	03/29/97	102.720	5.8400
182	World Bank	6%	09/22/02	102.400	5.9800
187	UK	5%	12/21/01	97.470	5.1300
191	EU	6%	11/06/02	102.170	5.9900
194	EU	6%	01/28/98	104.710	6.4900
206	Germany	6%	01/28/98	104.710	6.4900
207	Germany	6%	04/24/98	104.360	6.3900
216	Thailand	5%	02/28/96	102.200	5.2800
217	EU	6%	02/28/96	102.200	5.2800
223	World Bank	6%	05/02/03	104.400	6.4000
224	World Bank	7%	04/12/00	105.150	6.7100

Rnk	Name	Cpn	Maturity	Price	Yield
14	Netherlands	6%	02/15/98	104.350	5.9700
65	Netherlands	7%	03/15/99	107.100	6.5400
69	Netherlands	6%	02/15/99	106.300	6.3500
71	Netherlands	6%	01/15/98	105.950	6.5000
72	Netherlands	7%	02/15/00	107.900	6.4900
90	Netherlands	7%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
91	Netherlands	7%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
92	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
93	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
94	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
95	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
96	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
97	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
98	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
99	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800
100	Netherlands	6%	01/15/99	106.950	6.8800

Rnk	Name	Cpn	Maturity	Price	Yield
1	Germany	6%	01/14/05	103.320	6.2900
2	Germany	6%	01/14/05	103.320	6.2900
3	Germany	6%	02/22/00	103.670	6.3500
4	Germany	6%	03/15/00	106.510	6.1000
5	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
6	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
7	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
8	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
9	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
10	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
11	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
12	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
13	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
14	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
15	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
16	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
17	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
18	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
19	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400
20	Germany	5%	01/15/00	104.167	5.6400

38	Germany	6%	01/14/02	103.1000	6.2900				
39	Germany	7%	01/14/07	105.0000	6.7500				
40	Germany	6%	02/22/00	103.6700	6.3500				
41	Germany	7	12/22/97	105.8200	6.1000	13	France GAT	6	
42	Germany	7	10/20/96	105.3000	5.9000	61	France GAT	7 1/2	
43	Germany	6	01/14/04	104.1000	6.0000	80	France BTAN	5	
44	Germany	6	01/14/04	104.1000	6.0000	84	France BTAN	5	
45	Germany	6	01/14/07	104.1000	6.3000	118	France GAT	5 1/2	
46	Germany	6%	07/15/04	105.0100	6.9000	121	Italy	7%	
47	Germany	6%	07/15/04	105.0100	7.3000	122	UK T-note	7 1/2	
50	Germany	6%	02/22/97	106.9800	7.2500	122	UK BTAN	7 1/2	
51	Germany	6%	02/22/97	106.9800	7.5000	122	UK BTAN	7 1/2	
52	Germany	6%	02/22/97	116.1000	7.2000	122	UK BTAN	7 1/2	
53	Germany	6	03/15/99	107.4400	6.2000	135	France GAT	6	
54	Germany	6	03/15/99	105.1500	7.1000	163	France GAT	10	

Americans Pour Across Narrow, Swaying Span Into a Quiet Bosnia

ORASJE, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Hundreds of American soldiers in 75 vehicles crossed the Sava River on Monday, the second day of the massive U.S. ground deployment into Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They were joining the 436 soldiers who crossed the bridge spanning the Sava from Zupanja, Croatia, to this small northeastern Bosnian town Sunday, the first day that U.S. forces moved into the region.

The pontoon bridge is the narrow, swaying passageway that will carry most of the 20,000 troops in the American contingent of the NATO peace-keeping force into the country.

The northern industrial town of Tuzla will be the Americans' main base in war-torn Bosnia. Several dozen vehicles rumbled into the base Monday from

overnight positions on the road south from Orasje.

Rain, snow, flooding and thick mud slowed construction of the bridge, and engineers struggled again Monday with river banks soggy from rain and thaw. Trucks dumped gravel on the banks to reinforce them.

But officials said the bridge was not in danger.

"The bridge is holding up well," said Lieutenant Commander Jim McPherson of the U.S. Coast Guard.

Ninety minutes after the final pontoon had been muscled into place Sunday, the first vehicle edged at 5 miles an hour past a new sign that read: "Welcome to Bosnia. Courtesy, Commander Task Force Eagle. Over the Sava, Sir!"

The first U.S. ground troops to cross into Bosnia were elements of the 1st Cavalry Brigade of the 1st Armored

Division, riding 148 armored vehicles, Jeep-style Humvee trucks and 70-ton Abrams tanks.

In Tuzla, Major Garrie Dorman said that the troops moving directly out into the country would be "doing reconnaissance and setting up bases east and west of route Arizona," the main road north of Tuzla.

The U.S. force took its first casualty Saturday when Specialist Martin Begosh was wounded by a mine on a side road in the area. Mine detection and removal would be a "major part of the work" the Americans would be doing, Major Dorman said.

The three warring factions — Serbs, Croats and Moslems — have so far respected the Dayton, Ohio, peace accord. But a U.S. spokesman said the Americans would be ready for anything.

Traffic over the Sava — on the biggest

operational bridge the U.S. Army has built in Europe since World War II — was eased a bit Monday to avoid creating a New Year's Day traffic jam on the Bosnian side.

The U.S. spokesman at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Major Tom Moyer, said: "We don't have the command and control structure to get them moving out on the other side."

That had to be put in place first, he said at a news briefing in Sarajevo. "Otherwise all we'll get is one vast parking lot."

The army said an island in the river that acts as a pillar of the bridge would have to be repaired with yet more gravel — on top of the \$1 million worth used already.

The island, which caused trouble during the original construction work, has turned into a quagmire. An army spokes-

man said a plastic grid would be laid down before more gravel was poured over it.

In Orasje on the Bosnian side, meanwhile, another army spokesman, Colonel Michael Perini, bristled at the suggestion that anything might be going wrong.

"I am unaware of any problems of traffic flow or getting them to their destination," he said. "The roads are clear, and I don't anticipate any problems."

The entire operation from the day we got here till now has been going according to plan and we are going to do everything we can to make sure that our equipment and our people come across in a timely manner."

As the Americans marched into Bosnia, the former Yugoslavia celebrated its first peaceful New Year since war broke out in 1992. The only gunfire to be heard came from soldiers celebrating the holiday by shooting into the air.

At the U.S. Army's command tent near Zupanja, two men appeared with a bottle of plum brandy to share with the GIs. "It's good medicine, it will cure anything," said one of them, Mato Djurdjovic.

He said the brandy was "not for generals, for normal soldiers," but the GIs said they couldn't drink it because they were on duty.

As part of the peace plan, NATO forces have already secured the withdrawal of Muslim and Serbian troops from key flashpoints in and around the divided capital of Sarajevo.

By the end of January, troops on all sides have to move back from the frontlines, creating zones of separation in a process that NATO hopes will allow peace to take firm hold before its mission ends in just under a year.

(AFP, AP, Reuters, NYT, WP)

Leaderless And Split, Italy Takes EU Helm

ROME — Italy took over the six-month European Union presidency Monday, with a nonelected prime minister who has handed in his resignation and a Parliament divided over how to govern the country.

President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, in a traditional end-of-year message in which he urged the political governing class to put aside party feuding, said Sunday that Italy offered Europe "humanizing" values of culture, art and fraternity.

Prime Minister Lamberto Dini is waiting for Parliament to decide his future, but few commentators believe the EU presidency will suffer.

Mr. Dini, who completed his own limited agenda just before Christmas with the passing of the 1996 budget, handed in his resignation last week, as expected, but Mr. Scalfaro rejected it and told him to face Parliament.

Parliament is due to debate in the next 10 days whether to form a long-lasting cross-party government, probably led by Mr. Dini, to thrust out electoral and constitutional reform or to move to an early general election.

The initial signs are that Mr. Dini, who remains in office with full powers, will be back. He remains the leading candidate to head whatever government emerges.

"I think I've still got a stretch of the road ahead of me," Mr. Dini said last week.

Former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who has been demanding a general election, said last week that he would back the creation of such a long-lasting multiparty government, angering his allies on the far-right.

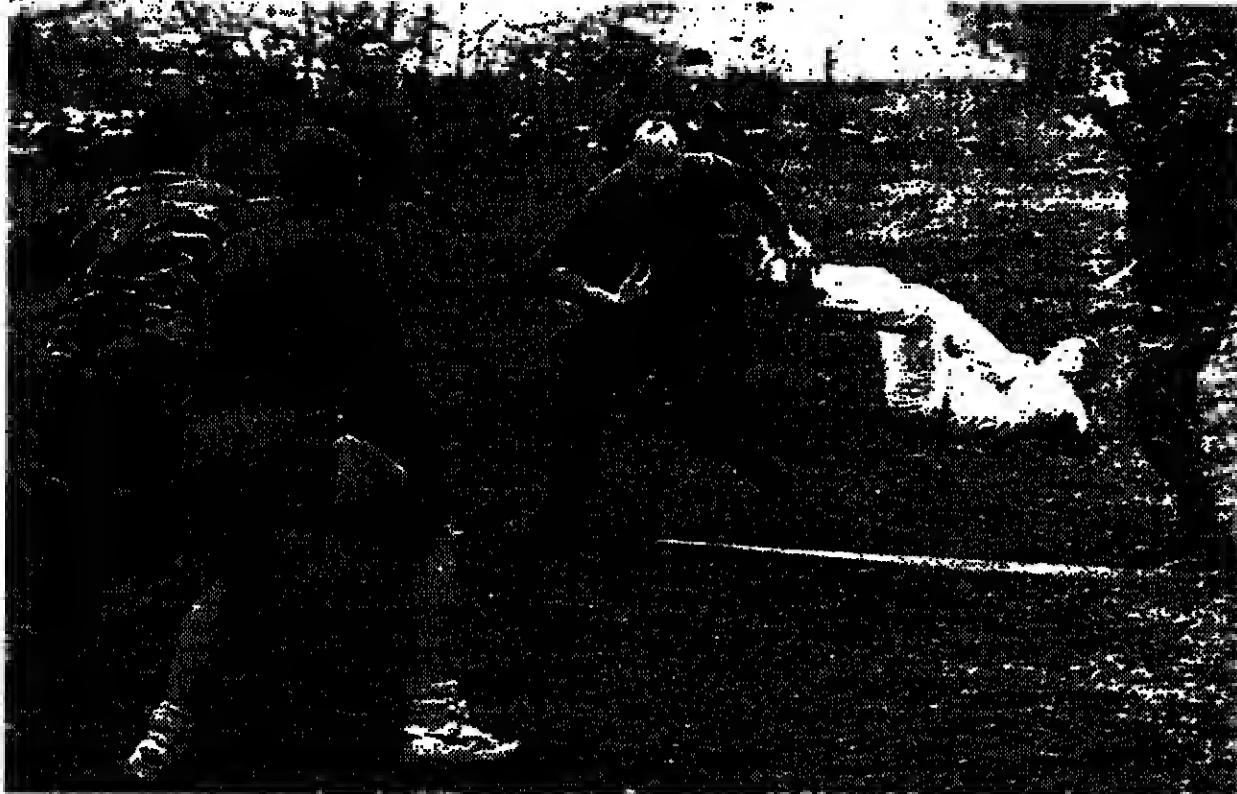
Critics say that Mr. Berlusconi, whose trial on bribery charges is to start Jan. 17, fears going to the polls.

Mr. Berlusconi and Massimo D'Alema, leader of the Democratic Party of the Left, the former Communist Party, said Sunday that they would try to agree to a program for change before considering the option of an early election.

Mr. Scalfaro said Sunday, in a clear sign that he was against calling an early general election, that Italy's politicians needed to "know how to rise above politics."

"January 1, 1998, marks the 50th anniversary of our current constitution," he said. "It would be a great thing if that date marked the fruition of constitutional reforms that I spoke about in my inaugural address of over three years ago."

The politicians were split over the address, with many optimistic that elections would be avoided in favor of a government of national unity.



NATO FIELD DAY — Brigadier General John Sylvester of the United States, right, refereeing a football game Monday involving British and American officers and soldiers at Kiseljak, Bosnia. The officers won, 24-0.

Settlement Ends Harriman Lawsuits

By Sharon Walsh
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Ambassador Pamela C. Harriman and the heirs of her husband, W. Averell Harriman, have agreed to settle six acrimonious 13-month-old legal battles in which the heirs accused Mrs. Harriman of squandering as much as \$41 million of the family fortune through bad investments and self-dealing.

Terms of the settlement were not disclosed, but they resolve lawsuits brought in New York and Virginia by Mr. Harriman's children and grandchildren against his widow and her advisers.

Mrs. Harriman, now U.S. ambassador to France, became the principal beneficiary and trustee of one of America's great fortunes, the bulk of a \$100 million legacy of the Harriman railroad dynasty, when her husband, a former

governor of New York, died in 1986.

Much of the money that was handled by Mrs. Harriman and two other trustees — the Washington lawyers Clark M. Clifford and Paul C. Wanke — was held in trust for Mr. Harriman's children by his first wife, Kitty Harriman-Averell and Pamela Harriman, who married when he was 79 and she was 51, had no children of their own.

A brief statement from one of Mrs. Harriman's New York lawyers said the parties had "satisfactorily resolved all the pending litigation between them through a mutual and reciprocal redistribution of family assets."

Although the statement did not say how much money would be redistributed, it did say that it would "correct inequities resulting from losses incurred on certain investments made on the recommendation of professional advisers selected by Governor Harriman before his death."

Charles Ames, an attorney who represents the Harriman heirs and is married to a Harriman granddaughter, said his clients were "hopeful that, with Mrs. Harriman's support and assistance, we will soon achieve a satisfactory resolution with the parties responsible for the family's loss."

That statement is not good news for the advisers, who include Mr. Clifford and Mr. Wanke, as well as the New York lawyer Edmund J. Burns and the investment adviser William Rich III. Before he died, Mr. Harriman personally chose them to administer his estate and invest his money. All have denied any wrongdoing.

Mrs. Harriman has said that she relied totally on the advice of her counselors. The heirs have contended that she must have known of the disastrous results of that advice, including a loss of more than \$20 million in a New Jersey resort.

OLIVES: Poor Spanish Crop Raises Oil Prices for the Consumer

Continued from Page 1

dusty, rusting Land Rovers that are 15 to 20 years old, towing small, crude trailers. But the image of a donkey is not far off for an industry whose technology has changed little.

For thousands of years, olives have been harvested by beating the branches with poles. Only recently has new equipment been introduced — hydraulic tractor arms that grip a limb and shake the tree violently to make the fruit drop. Few farmers can afford such machinery.

Modern irrigation hardly exists. Farmers hook narrow plastic tubes to buckets of water, stick the other, sharpened end into the bark of an olive limb, and hope that this drip-by-drip transfusion will help.

Over the last few years, co-ops have invested millions of dollars in new plants that press the olives. They have begun marketing efforts

to increase the visibility of Spanish oil in worldwide markets. But with the drought, it has been one step forward and another back. Now they find themselves deep in debt — a drag, for the present, on the Spanish economy.

"Spain clearly combines aspects of a developed society and aspects of a relatively undeveloped society," said José Luis Alzola, an economist at Salomon Brothers Inc. in London.

But while the country's problems seldom reverberate beyond the Iberian Peninsula, its olive troubles are certain to.

Since the early 1980s, olive consumption in the United States has risen fourfold, to almost 130,000 tons in 1994 from 30,000 tons in 1983. Many consumers found olive oil more flavorful than corn oil — this while the popularity of Italian, Greek and other Mediterranean cuisines heavy in olive oil has grown greatly.

The oil also got a lift from concern about fat and cholesterol, since its fat is a type often associated with a lower risk of heart disease.

But its price has always made it economically vulnerable. In Spain, the cost of producing olive oil is five times the cost of producing sunflower oil. On the grocery shelf, the price of olive oil is often three times the price of vegetable oil.

A year ago, Mr. Sullivan of the olive-oil trade group said, extra-virgin oil was selling for as little as \$2.99 a half-liter.

Now it is approximately \$4.59. This has put a dent in consumption, he says, even before any 1996 price increases. In the last six months, grocery purchases have fallen 14 percent, and in the last 12 weeks, they are down 22 percent from the comparable period a year before.

The biggest worry for farmers here is that prices will rise so high that consumers

will permanently switch away from olive oil. In part, they are pushed by big subsidies from the European Union, but if there is scant demand for their oil and their trees wither, there is little other work in this region for them.

COLONY: Softer Tones

Continued from Page 1

echoing widespread concern about the changes China may have in store come 1997.

But Britain's response has, with few exceptions, not gone much further than rhetoric. China is now in charge.

Three and a half years ago, when Mr. Patten arrived and embarked on a path that risked confrontation with Beijing on reform for the colony, Britain was eager to safeguard its record for the history books. It sought to introduce more democracy while there was still time.

Mr. Patten's reforms were eventually enacted after a long dispute with China. But they will most likely be overturned by a leadership in Beijing that has recently shown it is far less sensitive to international criticism than when Mr. Patten arrived.

With little leverage on Beijing and a common interest in working to calm the 1 million in Hong Kong who can leave if they fear what lies ahead, Mr. Rifkind is unlikely to do anything but cooperate with Mr. Lu and his other hosts in Beijing next week.

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PRINCE: Fahd Gives Up Power

Continued from Page 1

both Iraq and Iran, the crown prince is most likely to assert those as pillars of Saudi policy.

In the last three years, King Fahd initiated several changes in government designed to introduce new figures in some 250 top positions of administration and education.

In 1992, the changes reached the royal family circle when the king said rulers in the future should be chosen from among the ranks of the sons and grandsons of King Abdelaziz ibn Saud, opening the door for new figures among the younger generation of princes who are grandsons of the kingdom's founder. But even then, Saudi

officials said the succession in the immediate future would be by seniority, making Crown Prince Abdullah, followed by Prince Sultan, heirs to the throne.

Crown Prince Abdullah's stewardship will be challenged by a persistent deficit in the Saudi budget that has resulted from a large drop in oil prices over the past decade not met by budgetary austerity measures. (Page 9.)

Government spending increased dramatically in the Gulf War, which cost the Saudi economy somewhere around \$100 billion. The result is that Saudi Arabia's expenditures are outweighing its income, pushing it to borrow. The country's financial reserves, once ranked at \$100 billion, are all but spent.

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SPORTS

Treasure of Bygone Hockey Era

Vantage Point / JOE LAPOINTE



NEW LEAF ON THE OLD WALL — Chinese of all ages walking along the Great Wall on Monday to publicize the launch of a campaign by the Beijing government to promote national health.

With Victory, Liverpool Puts Heat on Leader

Reuters
LONDON — Liverpool, down 2-0 to Nottingham Forest after 18 minutes, stormed back to win its Premier League clash Monday, 4-2, with two goals from the striker Robbie Fowler. The victory carried Liverpool into third place, with

SOCCER ROUNDUP

In seven points of Newcastle, the leader, which plays Arsenal on Tuesday.

It was a splendid day for Merseyside with Everton winning, 3-2, at unpredictable Wimbledon thanks to two goals from Duncan Ferguson, his first in the Premier League since his release from prison in late November.

In Manchester City, West Ham, beset by injuries, gave a debut to Neil Finn, a goalkeeper who was 17 last week and the youngest player in the league's history. Finn was beaten after 21 minutes by Niall Quinn and although Iain Dowie equalized with 15 minutes to go, Quinn got the winner three minutes later.

At Anfield, Steve Stone shot Nottingham Forest into a 13th-minute lead and Ian Woan made it 2-0 five minutes later as Forest swarmed forward.

But Fowler pulled Liverpool back to 2-2 with two fine headers in the 31st and 41st minutes, both from crosses from a fellow striker, Stan Collymore, playing against his old club. The Forest's misery was complete when Colin Cooper turned a cross from the left into his own net four minutes from the end of the game.

There was more disappointment for bottom-ranked Bolton, which went down, 4-2, to Sheffield Wednesday. Darko Kovacevic, a Serb making only his second start in England, paved the way with the first two goals.

Coventry, 2-1 winners at Bolton two days ago, was held 1-1 at home by a fellow struggler, Southampton. Neil Heaney put the visitors ahead in the 64th minute, but Coventry salvaged a point with a brilliant goal by Noel Whelan. Whelan, signed from Leeds four weeks ago, surged past six defenders before prodding in his third goal in four games since his move.

Texas Back Fakes Play, Then Goes on the Run

The Associated Press
NEW ORLEANS — Ron Weaver loved playing college football, and four years of it weren't enough. So he took on a new identity, enrolled in a California junior college and played some more.

When his skills attracted the attention of several major colleges, the cornerback known as Ron McKelvey picked the University of Texas and played this season for the Longhorns. Until it all came crashing down and he skipped town on the eve of the Sugar Bowl, the 30-year-old college kid was having a blast.

That was the story told by a woman claiming to be Weaver's half sister, Bonita Money denied reports Weaver concocted the scam to write a book, and maintained he did what he did for the love of the game.

"He's passionate about football," Money said. "He did this because he loves football and wanted a second chance to play."

"To go through what he went through, taking classes for three years that he'd already taken, he had to really love football."

Weaver enrolled at Texas in August under the name Joel Roo McKelvey. Texas officials said he was a highly recruited player after two standout seasons at Los Angeles Pierce Community College. Among the schools bidding for his services were Texas A&M, Brigham Young and San Diego State.

On Saturday, after The Californian newspaper in Salinas, reported the alleged scam, Weaver packed his bags and left New Orleans without notifying the team.

Money said he didn't flee to escape the authorities, but because he needs time to collect his thoughts.

"It's not like he's a fugitive," she said. "He's not on the run because he thinks police are after him. He just didn't want to deal with the coaches."

Money read a statement from her brother, in which he apologized to Texas players and coaches for any trouble he has caused them. She expects Weaver to make his own statement soon.

She would not say where her brother went after leaving the hotel.

"He definitely understands the severity of the situation," she said.

Texas had used Weaver only sparingly during a regular season in which the Longhorns went 10-1-1.

The 5-foot-11-inch (1.9-meter) 190-pound (86-kilogram) junior kinesiology major had only four tackles all season and was listed second on the depth chart at left cornerback.

The player denied being an impostor when contacted by The Associated Press late Friday night. He said he has identification to prove who he is, but declined to meet with a reporter and show it.

"I am not writing no book," said the man. "I have a hard enough time in English class."

John Bianco, the school's associate sports information director, said information gathered by school officials suggested the alleged impostor had a criminal past. He did not give details.

Texas officials turned over their findings to the FBI in New Orleans on Saturday night.

Money, 33, said her brother had no intentions of writing a book when he enrolled at Texas. But, combined with her fledgling career as a movie producer, she said it may be a hard opportunity for them to pass up.

"For somebody to do that takes a lot of guts," she said. "It's not your average story."

Hokies Upset Longhorns

Virginia Tech, a Sugar Bowl participant by default, blitzed Texas into submission Sunday night.

Tech, which got the bowl berth when Miami was dropped because of NCAA sanctions, took over in the second half by unleashing an array of blitzes on the Texas quarterback, James Brown. They sacked him five times, forced three interceptions and used two long touchdowns by Bryan Still to earn a 28-10 victory. It was the 10th straight victory for No. 13 Virginia Tech (10-2).

No. 9 Texas led 10-7 at halftime. But the Hokies were in complete control throughout the second half. The momentum changed when Still returned a punt 60 yards with 2:34 left in the first half, and in the second half it was more of the same. With Virginia Tech leading 14-10 late in the third period, he caught a 54-yard touchdown pass from Jim Druckenmiller, and the Hokies were never threatened thereafter.

New York Times Service
A GREAT Canadian hockey reporter is miffed with me, justifiably. I still have his treasured videotape of singular hockey history, the game between the Montreal Canadiens and Central Red Army of the Soviet Union at the Forum on Dec. 31, 1975.

"People still talk of this game," said Jacques Lemaire, the New Jersey Devils coach, who played in it. "A lot of people say it was the nicest game they have ever seen."

Will you return my tape? my friend sometimes asks. Yes, soon. I always assure him. But it's New Year's again. The Forum is about to close. People are nostalgic. Just one more viewing, please.

For this match between great clubs came at the cusp of two eras. It had national and tribal trappings. Red Army represented the military of the Russian-based "evil empire."

The Canadiens were still the Flying Frenchmen, with stars named Lemaire, Yvan Cournoyer, Guy Lafleur, Serge Savard and Guy Lapointe. To many the game symbolized Canada versus Russia, free north America versus Communist Europe. Us against Them.

Later, on the same tour, Red Army was mugged in Philadelphia by the Flyers, the Broad Street Bullies, then hockey's hoodlums. The game in Philadelphia was the low point of this tour and that era; the game in Montreal was the peak of the tour and a peek at both the immediate and long-range future of the National Hockey League.

Larry Robinson, now the coach of the Los Angeles Kings, remembers the pregame anxiety, the pacing in the Forum locker room.

"The worst part was standing for the anthem," he said. "The whole building was singing. That's what got you the most. I was just a young kid."

It is jarring to see, on tape, the changes over two decades. The boards and ice surface are creamy white and free of advertising; most Canadians wear no helmets; their heads display the long hairstyles of the time. When there are whistles and faceoffs, only an organ

plays; there are no blasts of annoying, recorded rock.

Some players sing as "O Canada!" is belted out by Roger Doucet, now dead. The English play-by-play is announced in the Maritime lilt of Danny Gallivan, also gone now. His voice rises and falls on the roar of the crowd as if riding the waves of the ocean.

"A dire dearth of whistles here in the second period," Gallivan sings, as the teams race from end to end and coaches send fresh lines over the boards.

The Canadiens rush to an early 2-0 lead, as the Soviets seem befuddled by the roaring fans or by an ice surface more narrow than the ones of Europe. But a shift in momentum comes midway through the first period with the first Army shot on goal, by Valery Kharlamov, an extraordinary left wing, who draws three defenders toward him and whips a low wrist shot that Ken Dryden barely stops.

THE SIX Canadians on ice — Dryden, Lafleur, Bob Gainey, Savard, Lapointe and Lemaire — would eventually become Hall of Famers. And Kharlamov has left them a calling card. They are vulnerable; he will be back.

In the second period, Kharlamov's linemate, Boris Mikhailov, cuts the Montreal lead to 2-1 with a wrist shot.

After Cournoyer's power-play goal puts Montreal up by 3-1, the Soviets seem to retreat. When they turn back and pass the puck six times in their defensive zone, the Forum fans cheer. To North American eyes, this suggests surrender. Suddenly, the fans gasp as this maneuver builds to a lightning strike up the middle.

Kharlamov finishes by streaking behind the defense and flipping a backhand behind Dryden. It's 3-2 now, and goalie Vladislav Tretiak is stopping everything. Later, in the third period, these patient Soviets pull even at 3-3, and the score ends in a tie.

And what of all those players now? Tretiak is a part-time goalie coach for the

Chicago Blackhawks. The great Kharlamov died in a car crash in the 1980s; his son is a minor-league prospect for the Washington Capitals. So many of the next generation of Russian stars are in the NHL now, and so many of those Canadian players from 20 years ago are coaching rivals in the league.

Besides Lemaire and Robinson, Mario Tremblay is coaching Montreal; Gainey is in charge in Dallas. Two others, Savard and Doug Risebrough, were general managers until recently. And Bowman is still running a top team: Detroit. On his first unit, he plays five Russians.

When this game was played, even Americans were rare in the NHL, and the World Hockey Association was introducing Europeans to North American professional ranks.

Less than two weeks after the Montreal game, the Red Army team visited the Spectrum, losing 4-1 to the Flyers. After several intimidating hits, the Soviets left the ice briefly in protest. The Flyers didn't know it then, but this game would symbolize the end of their tenuous reign of two Stanley Cups. Five months later, Bowman's Canadians would take their first of four consecutive championships.

But five months earlier, on New Year's Eve, the Canadians could only reflect on their standoff with the Red Army. On the videotape, after the game, Peter Mahovitch, in a voice choked with emotion, tells the Canadian television audience, "On behalf of the Montreal Canadiens, I'd like to apologize that we didn't win."

"The way they play," he said of the Soviets, "it brings back memories of the way we used to play on the pond. I love to play that way." Those words were his memories then; this tape holds old memories now. When I see my old acquaintance at the world junior tournament this week in Boston, I'll assure him that his videotape is in the mail, any year now.

Senators Leave Their Unhappy Home

The Associated Press
In their final game at the Civic Centre, a converted junior rink in downtown Ottawa, the Senators lost 3-0, to the Tampa Bay Lightning.

NHL ROUNDUP

Their next home game on Jan. 17 against Montreal will be played in the new 18,500-seat Palladium.

Asked about the building's appeal, Alexandre Daigle, of the Senators, said: "Zero."

The fans seemed to agree. Only 8,522 of them showed up for the game.

"I have some good mem-

ories and not so good memories from this building," said Alexei Yashin, who returned to Ottawa's lineup for the first time after ending his season-long holdout Saturday.

"This is where I started my career and had some success, but there were a lot of losses for the team."

There were 86 of them to be exact, along with 24 victories and 12 ties. The Senators, with just two victories and one tie in their last 26 games, have dropped to a National Hockey League low with 17 points.

Mighty Ducks 2, Kings 2 In Anaheim, California, Kevin Todd and Rick Tocchet scored

less than six minutes apart in the third period as Los Angeles rallied twice to tie Anaheim.

Canucks 4, Flyers 3 In Vancouver, Alexander Mogilny scored on a rebound with five seconds left in to complete a Vancouver comeback and give the Canucks a tie with Philadelphia.

The Canucks trailed 5-2 midway through the third before Russ Courtnall scored a power-play goal to start the recovery. Martin Gelinas scored a shorthanded goal at 18:03 after the Canucks pulled their goalie, Kirk McLean, for an extra attacker. Mogilny got the tying goal at

19:55 after Courtnall won a faceoff in the Philadelphia zone with 12 seconds left.

Stars 3, Jets 3 In Winnipeg, Teiji Donato and Cam Neely scored twice each and Shawn McEachern added a goal to lead Boston over the Jets. Neely added an empty-net goal late in the third to seal victory before the standing-room only crowd of 15,513.

Islanders 3, Sabres 2 In Buffalo, Wendel Clark and Marty McInnis scored 18 seconds apart in the third period to lift New York over the Sabres. Clark's 18th goal with 7:36 left in the game gave the Islanders a 3-2 lead. Eighteen seconds later, McInnis skated through several Buffalo defenders, and put a shot high past John Blue's stick side.

Red Wings 3, Panthers 2 In Detroit, Chris Osgood made 28 saves and added an assist to lead the Red Wings to their ninth straight victory.

The winning streak ties a team record set in 1955, the last time the Red Wings won the Stanley Cup.

The teams split four first-period goals before Detroit went ahead in the second when Keith Primeau used his size and strength to power past Brian Glynn and shove the puck under Sean Burke at 1:58.

Flames 3, Rangers 1 In Calgary, Michael Nylander scored two first-period goals and Calgary ended New York's six-game unbeaten streak. The Rangers are winless in their last 10 games at the Saddledome.

Blackhawks 5, Devils 0 In Chicago, Jeff Hackett made 29 saves for his eighth consecutive victory, tying Tony Esposito's team record, as the Blackhawks defeated New Jersey.

Chicago managed only 15 shots but still extended its winning streak to five games and its unbeaten string to eight.



Vancouver goalie Kirk McLean deflecting a shot by Philadelphia's Russ Romaniuk.

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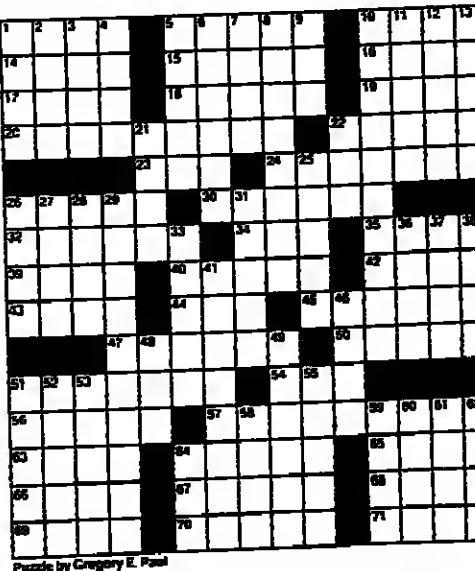
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Wild Cards Open the NFL Playoffs With a Wild Weekend



The Colts' fullback Zack Crockett leaving the Chargers' Shawn Lee on the ground to score on a 33-yard run.

A Rusty Colt Eliminates The Chargers

By Tom Friend
New York Times Service

SAN DIEGO — He is Marshall Faulk after a heavy dinner.

Zack Crockett, a 241-pound fullback whose legs should have been full of rust, tilted the earth Indianapolis way Sunday. While the diminutive Faulk stood incapacitated on the sideline, Crockett introduced himself to the San Diego end zone. His touchdown runs were for 33 and for 66 yards, and the Colts won their first playoff game since their Baltimore heyday in 1971.

Their quarterback 24 years ago was John Unitas, and their quarterback Sunday — Jim Harbaugh — was just as infallible. By day's end, Harbaugh had accounted for three scores himself, the Colts' secondary had pilfered four Stan Humphries passes, and Indianapolis had a rousing 35-20 victory at Jack Murphy Stadium.

The Colts now draw the Chiefs Sunday in Kansas City, and Faulk need not rush back with his wracked left knee.

The rookie Crockett was last seen at Florida State, where he had only 481 career yards, and he was a complete afterthought until Faulk left Sunday after only one carry.

With the Colts leading 21-20, Crockett took a simple draw play in the fourth quarter and turned it into the longest run in Colts playoff history: 66 yards.

The fullback had been on the bench all season until, in week 15 against San Diego — a 27-24 Chargers victory — the starter Roosevelt Potts was injured.

Crockett's season totals before Sunday: one carry for zero yards. By game's end, he was no longer a blank. He finished with 147 yards on 13 carries.

"Some people think a big guy can't run," said Crockett, who was not even born the last time the Colts took a playoff game. "I had to prove them wrong."

After that fourth-quarter run, Humphries was intercepted by Jason Belser, and the Colts put the game away. Harbaugh's quarterback sneak made it 35-20 with 6 minutes 55 seconds to play. For a while, the two quarterbacks were not letting the ball touch the ground. Humphries, for instance, put his team ahead, 17-14, with 4:20 left in the third quarter after a Colts defender, David Tate, slipped.

That left the wide receiver Shawn Jefferson unimpeded, and he squeezed the 11-yard touchdown catch.

Harbaugh responded by beating a Chargers' blitz a moment later with a 42-yard bomb to Sean Dawkins.

If the Chargers' wide receiver Tony Martin had not dropped his fifth pass of the day — at the Colts' five-yard line — San Diego might have regained the lead. Instead, John Carney's 30-yard field goal, with 11:53 left in the game, reduced the deficit to 21-20.

Faulk, on his first carry of the afternoon, gained a flashy 16 yards but twisted his already bruised knee on the tackle. He limped to the sideline, found an ice bag and never returned.

The Colts, however, were not crying for his help — thanks to a not-so-elastic defense.

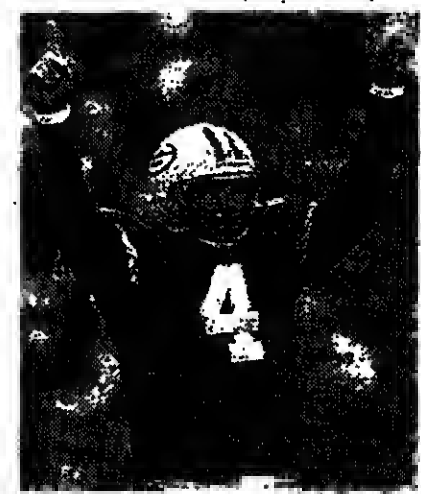
Sudden Blast By Packers Tops Falcons

By Thomas George
New York Times Service

GREEN BAY, Wisconsin — J.J. Barden had just run loose and free, covering 27 yards on a scoring catch and bringing the Atlanta Falcons within 10 points of the Green Bay Packers. Fourteen minutes remained. It looked like a game now. Maybe the Falcons were ready to spread their wings before 60,453 fans at Lambeau Field.

And then this: Edgar Bennett up the middle for nine yards; Brett Favre to Anthony Morgan for 10 yards; Favre to Robert Brooks for 20 yards. Those were the big plays of a beautifully executed, 12-play, 70-yard drive that took nearly six and a half minutes. The clincher was an 18-yard rainbow toss by Favre toward the right, front corner of the end zone.

The Packers back Dorsey Levens made a difficult over-the-shoulder, head-turning-while-jumping grab for the touchdown. Levens' feet did not land in the end zone, but officials ruled that was because he was forced out of



Packers' Brett Favre signaling Robert Brooks' touchdown catch.

bounds by the safety Kevin Ross. Thus, 27-17 with 14 minutes 7 seconds left quickly became 34-17 with 7:45 left.

It ended 37-20, Packers, with that game-claiming drive showing that the Packers now know how to finish what they start. Now they know how to execute in the crunch. This is how they won the National Football Conference Central title with an 11-5 record. This is the bag of goods they take with them on their next playoff journey, to San Francisco, where they hope that what they have built will stand up against the defending champion 49ers on Saturday.

"We are a much better football team than any of the last few clubs around here because we execute much better," said Sean Jones, the end who made two of Green Bay's three sacks of Jeff George.

Bennett rushed for a Packers playoff record 108 yards, Green Bay rushed 29 times total and Favre was 24 of 35 for 199 yards, three touchdowns and no interceptions. He completed passes to nine receivers.

In a Scorefest, Eagles Shame Lions, 58-37

By Timothy W. Smith
New York Times Service

PHILADELPHIA — On a day when the Detroit Lions and the Philadelphia Eagles combined to score the most points ever in a National Football League playoff game, the Lions learned two lessons: When you feel you have a superior team, keep your mouth shut. When you give a coach an ultimatum to make the playoffs or else, make sure you add, "And win a playoff game."

Detroit's owner, William Clay Ford, issued that challenge to Coach Wayne Fontes, and the Lions had responded by winning their last seven games. The Lions' tackle Lomas Brown guaranteed that the Lions, who boasted the No. 1 offense in the NFL, would beat the Eagles in their first-round playoff game Saturday at Veterans Stadium.

The Eagles' coach, Ray Rhodes, taped up the quote in the Philadelphia locker room. It inspired the Eagles to humiliate the Lions, 58-37. The 95 total points shattered the postseason record of 79, set in 1981 by San Diego and Miami in overtime and tied in 1992 by Buffalo and Houston, also in overtime. The Eagles' 58 points were the third most by one team in a postseason game.

The Eagles' quarterback, Rodney Peete, completed 17 of 25 passes for 270 yards, with three touchdowns. Ricky Walters, the running back, scored touchdowns on a run and a pass. Fred Barnett caught eight passes for 109 yards and two touchdowns. The Philadelphia defense had six interceptions and returned two for touchdowns.

The Lions' vaunted offense never really materialized. It consisted almost entirely of the receiver Herman Moore, who caught six passes for 125 yards, including a 68-yard touchdown catch. The Lions' running back Barry Sanders gained only 40 yards on nine carries.

Concerns about Peete having a shaky game were erased early in the second quarter, when he lofted a 22-yard pass to Barnett on a fade pattern for a touchdown that made it 17-7. You could see the angel sitting on Peete's shoulder when he threw up a 43-yard prayer as time expired in the first half and receiver Rob Carpenter, sandwiched between three Lions' defenders, came down with it for a touchdown that made it 38-7.

The 38 points represented the most the Eagles ever scored in a playoff game. They were 0-3 in their last three playoff appearances and three-point underdogs to the Lions, who boasted a deadly quartet in quarterback Scott Mitchell, receivers Moore and Brett Perriman and the running back Sanders.

But before the Lions could say "No offense in the NFL," they were out of the game. With 6 minutes, 31 seconds to play in the third quarter, so was Mitchell, who threw four interceptions and was pulled with the Lions' trailing, 51-7. He was replaced by Don Majkowski, who threw a 68-yard touchdown pass to Moore to make it 51-14. On the Lions' next possession he threw another one — a 7-yarder to Johnnie Morton — that made it 51-21. But it was like a bandage on a ruptured artery.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Lane Collects \$1 Million

GOLF Barry Lane of Britain beat David Frost of South Africa by two holes in the 36-hole final at the Grayhawk Golf Club's Talon Course in Scottsdale, Arizona, to win the \$1 million first prize in the Andersen Consulting World Championship, golf's richest event. (Reuters)

Teenager Leaps to Win

SKI JUMPING Reinhard Schwarzenberger, an 18-year-old Austrian, scored his second World Cup ski jumping victory, edging Esper Bredesen of Norway and the three-time Olympic champion, Jens Weissflog of Germany, in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. Mika Lahtinen remained World Cup leader despite being sidelined with seven broken ribs and a broken collarbone after a training crash. (Reuters)

Strangers Lift U.S.

TENNIS Richey Reneberg and Chanda Rubin, who had not met until 24 hours before going on court, combined for a mixed doubles victory that lifted the United States to a 2-1 triumph over South Africa in Group A of the Hopman Cup team tennis championship in Perth, Australia. (Reuters)

In Citrus Bowl, Ohio State Takes a Fall to Tennessee

The Associated Press

ORLANDO, Florida — Eddie George became the latest to be ensnared by the Heisman jinx.

George rushed for 101 yards and a touchdown, but was outplayed by Tennessee's Jay Graham as the Volunteers beat Ohio State 20-14 in the Florida Citrus Bowl on Monday.

Graham carried 26 times for 154 yards, including a 69-yard touchdown run, and the Vols' defense came up with four big stops in the fourth quarter to preserve the victory.

Heisman winners have had problems in the postseason, with their teams going 4-11 in bowl games since 1980.

After Tennessee's Jeff Hall kicked a 29-yard field goal for a 17-14 lead with 9:24 left, the Volunteers shut down Ohio State's high-powered attack — with help from the Buckeyes.

Over their last four possessions, Ohio State (11-2) lost three fumbles and threw a pass to an ineligible receiver in the CompUSA-sponsored game between teams co-ranked No. 4.

On the first miscue, George fumbled at his own 39. On the next, quarterback Bob Hoyer's option pitch intended for George on fourth-and-1 at midfield bounced off the helmet of the lead blocker, fullback Matt Calhoun, and the Vols' Tori Noel recovered. On fourth-

and-3 at the Buckeyes 25, Hoyer was pressured by Ron Green and Steve White and flipped a desperation pass that was caught by guard LeShua Daniels. Ohio State was flagged for an ineligible receiver, and Hall added a 25-yard field goal soon after.

On his last possession, Ohio State moved to midfield with a minute left, but Hoyer's pass was caught and then fumbled by Dimitrios Stanley at Tennessee's 38. Craig King recovered for the Vols.

Syracuse 41, No. 23 Clemson 0 Donovan McNabb, Syracuse's freshman quarterback, had three touchdown passes and ran for another as the Orangemen pounded No. 23 Clemson in the Gator Bowl. In handing the Tigers (8-4) their worst postseason loss, Syracuse extended its success to 8-0-1 in its last nine postseason games. McNabb, constantly slipping defenders, waved receivers into position and completed 6 of 7 passes for 108 yards in a first quarter that produced a Gator record 20 points.

No. 15 Penn St. 43, No. 16 Auburn 14 Wally Richardson threw four touchdowns in the rain and No. 15 Penn State set Outback Bowl records for points and total offense in a rout of Auburn at soggy Tampa Stadium. Bobby Engram had four carries for a bowl-record 113 yards and two TDs, while Stephen Pitts rushed for 113 yards and scored on his only catch of the day to pace the Nittany Lions. Penn State gained 487 yards.

Bills Attack on Ground, Burying Dolphins, 37-22

By Gerald Eskenazi
New York Times Service

ORCHARD PARK, New York — Running like throwbacks to the era of the leather helmet, the Buffalo Bills showed Saturday that, in their defiant words, "We're back."

They charged over the Dolphins with one of the greatest rushing performances in league history, amassing 341 yards and producing a 37-22 victory in their wild-card game.

Now, it's on to Pittsburgh and the divisional playoff next Saturday.

This was a Bills team consigned by many to a past with no present after they slumped last year to 7-9 after four straight Super Bowl appearances. They

responded Saturday, though, with a stinging ground attack.

"I think the Dolphins were remembering two weeks ago," said Steve Tasker, the wide receiver, who founded Miami's defense two Sundays ago by running six reverses in the Bills' 23-20 division-clinching victory.

This time, Tasker said, whenever the Bills faked a reverse, six Dolphins would scream, "Reverse! Reverse!" Their obsession with watching out for the tricky play helped free their star running back, Thurman Thomas. He gained 158 yards on 25 carries in a game in which the two teams combined for a playoff record 1,038 yards in total offense. They also became the first teams in playoff history to each generate 500

yards of offense. The Dolphins could not halt Thomas' sweeping runs outside the tackles, and Tasker generated 108 yards on five receptions, including a touchdown, in only a half. (He just out the rest of the game with an injured hamstring.)

The Dolphins' response to the Bills' attack surprised Thomas, he said later. And his comments were not likely to be welcomed by defensive coordinator Tom Olivadotti, who, along with Coach Don Shula, was criticized during the Dolphins' disappointing 9-7 regular season.

"As long as Olivadotti has been there," Thomas said, "when you do things to hurt him, he really doesn't make a lot of changes. When we saw what defense he was in, we thought this could be a good day for rushing the football."

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